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A N E C D O T E S
OF THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

VOL. III.

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~~THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM Pitt, EARL OF CHATHAM.~~

A N E C D O T E S
OF
THE LIFE
OF THE
RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM.
AND OF
THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS TIME.
WITH
HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT,
FROM THE YEAR 1736 TO THE YEAR 1778.

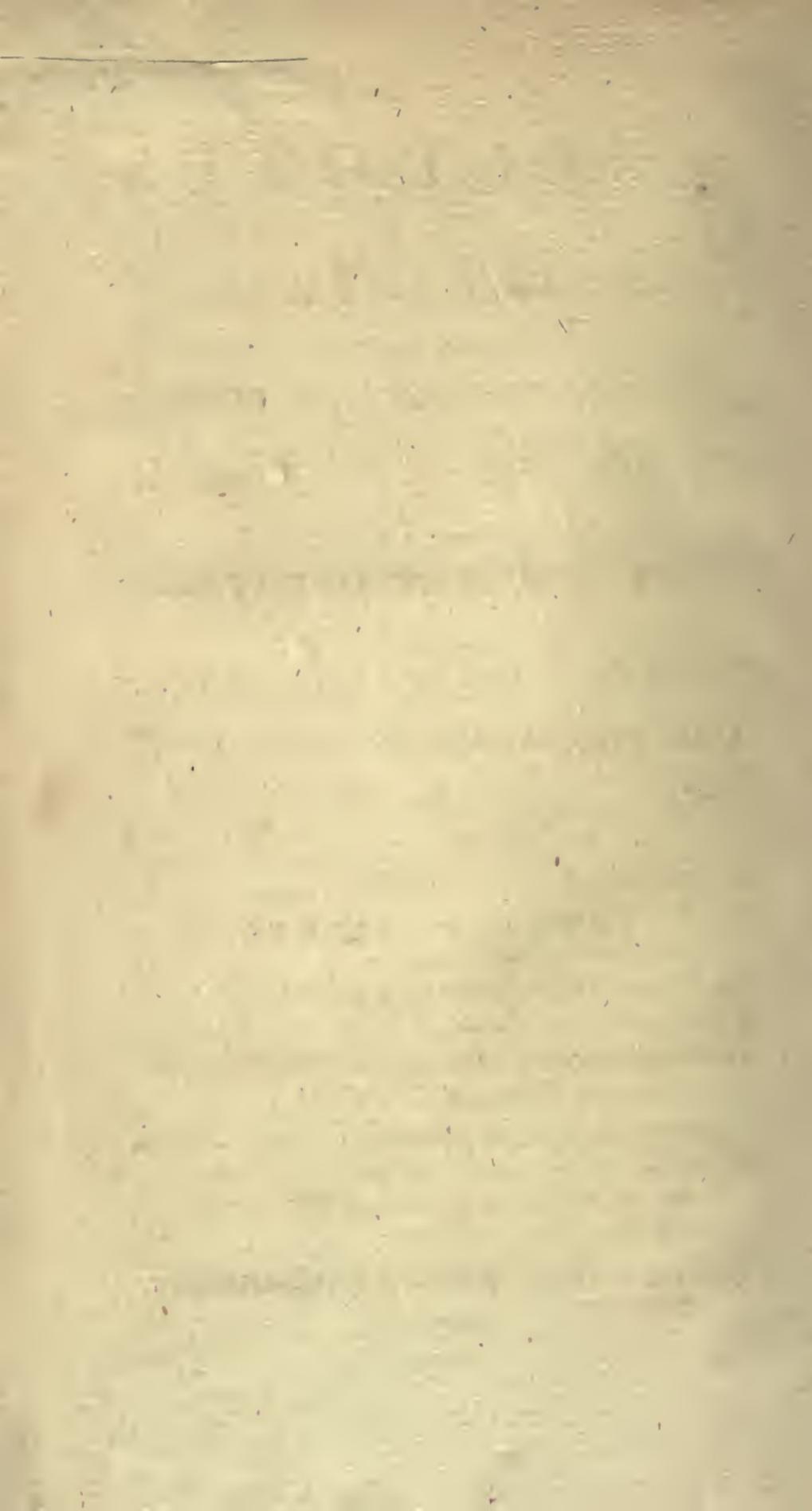
SAT MIHI FAS AUDITA LOQUI.—VIRGIL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
THE SIXTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOLUME III.

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1797.



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APPENDIX.

A.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. SECRETARY PITT
TO THOMAS CUMMING.

Whitehall, February 9; 1757.

Good and worthy Friend,

I Write this letter to you merely to repeat to you upon paper, what I have often said with great sincerity to you in conversation, - namely, that I have so good an opinion of your integrity, and think the service you are going upon to Africa so likely to prove beneficial to the Public, that in case success attends your endeavours, I promise you my best assistance in obtaining an exclusive charter in your favour for a limited term of years, with regard to that vein of trade which your industry and risk shall have opened to your country. Averse as I always shall be to exclusive charters in general, I think your case a just exception; so wishing cordially the favour of Providence on your undertaking, I remain, with much esteem, your sincere and faithful friend,

W. PITT.

VOL. III.

R

B.

DICKENSON, MAYOR.

AT A COURT OF COMMON-COUNCIL, HOLDEN IN
THE CHAMBER OF THE GUILDHALL OF THE
CITY OF LONDON, ON FRIDAY, THE 15TH OF
APRIL, 1757.

RESOLVED, That the Freedom of this City be presented to the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, late one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; and to the Right Hon. HENRY BILSON LEGGE, late Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, in testimony of the grateful sense which the City of London entertain of their loyal and disinterested conduct, during their truly honourable, though short administration; their beginning a scheme of public œconomy, and at the same time lessening the extent of ministerial influence, by a reduction of a number of useless placemen: their noble efforts to stem the general torrent of corruption, and to revive, by their example, the almost extinguished love of virtue, and our country: their zeal to promote a full and impartial enquiry into the real causes of our late losses in America and the Mediterranean: and lastly their vigilant attention to support the glory and independency of Great Britain, the honour and true interest of the crown, with the just rights and liberties of the subject; thereby most effectually securing the affections of a free people to his Majesty and his illustrious family.

THE

THE ANSWER OF THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM
PITT, DELIVERED TO SIR THOMAS HARRISON,
CHAMBERLAIN.

GIVE me leave, Sir; to request the favour of you, to present, in the most expressive terms, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, the high sense I have of the distinguished honour they have been pleased to do me, in conferring on me the Freedom of the City.

I have ever been zealously devoted to the support of the liberty, trade, and prosperity of that great and respectable body; and I am now proud, and happy to have such cause to add the sentiments of truest gratitude for so generous a mark of their favour; and for so unmerited an approbation of my insufficient endeavours to carry into effect the most gracious intentions, and paternal care of his Majesty; for the preservation and happiness of his people:

THE ANSWER OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY BILSON LEGGE, DELIVERED TO SIR
THOMAS HARRISON.

GIVE me leave, Sir, to beg the favour of you to return my sincerest thanks to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of London, for having admitted me to the Freedom of their Corporation.

So eminent a mark of distinction, derived from the most respectable City in Europe, and to which so few have ever received the honour of admission, cannot but fill my heart with the highest sense of gratitude and regard; and though it far exceeds the bare merit of meaning well, which is all I have to plead, must prove a strong incentive to those, whom his Majesty shall hereafter think fit to employ, to exert with equal zeal, much greater abilities in the service of their country.

I hope every part of my future conduct, consistently with that which I have hitherto endeavoured to hold, will shew my firm attachment to the rights and privileges of my fellow subjects, as well as to his Majesty, and his illustrious family, upon whose establishment the maintenance of those rights and privileges does so essentially depend.

The boxes, which were of gold, value one hundred guineas, each, writing and ornamenting the above Freedoms, cost the City, 251l. 13s.

The example of the City of London was followed by the Cities of Bath, Chester, Norwich, Exeter; Towns of Newcastle and Worcester, in gold boxes; Yarmouth (Norf.) in silver; Bedford, Stirling, and several other cities and towns.

DUBLIN.

RESOLVED, That the freedom of this Corporation be presented to the Right Hon. WILLIAM
PITT

PITT and HENRY BILSON LEGGE, Esqrs. in testimony of this Corporation's respect for Ministers, who, during a short administration, uniformly endeavoured to elude the corruption so fatally prevailing; to restore public œconomy; and make temperance fashionable; to reduce the salaries, and lessen the number of useless placemen; to revive the love of arms, and reconcile a military to a commercial spirit, and to make the government of Great Britain beloved by Britons, happy to the subjects united with them, and respected by foreign powers.

Resolved, That the master do transmit said freedom to the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT & HENRY BILSON LEGGE, Esqrs.

Signed by order,
EPHRAIM THWAITS, Clerk.

C

COPY OF A LETTER TO SIR EDWARD HAWKE AT SEA, OR AT, OR NEAR, ROCHEFORT. Sent by the Viper, on the 15th of September, 1757.

SIR,

HIS Majesty, by his *secret instructions*, dated the 5th day of August last, having directed the return of the fleet under your command, together with the land forces on board, so as to be in England at, or about, as near as may be, the end of September, unless the circumstances of the ships and forces,

shall necessarily require their return sooner; I am now to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do not consider the above mentioned time, limited for your return, as intended, in any manner, to affect or interfere with the full execution of the first and principal object of the expedition; namely, attempting as far as shall be found practicable, a descent on the French coast, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, if practicable, and, by a vigorous impression, force that place, and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of your power, all shipping, docks, magazines and arsenals that should be found there, and exert such other efforts as shall be judged most proper for annoying the enemy. And with regard to any other particular attempt, which, agreeable to your orders you shall have commenced, and in the execution whereof you shall be actually engaged; it is also His Majesty's pleasure that you do not desist from, or break up the same, merely and solely on account of the time limited for your return, by the instructions abovementioned; but that, notwithstanding the same, you do continue with the fleet, during such a farther number of days, as may afford a competent time for the completion of any operation under the above circumstances; after which you are to take care to return with the fleet under your command, and the force on board, in the manner directed by your former instructions.

I am, &c.

W. PIT T,

D.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. SECRETARY PITT,
TO THE LORD MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

Whitehall, Aug. 15, 1759.

MY LORD,

HAVING, in consequence of the desire of the Court of Common Council, had the honour to lay before the King their resolutions of yesterday, for offering certain bounties and encouragement to such able bodied men as shall enlist themselves at the Guild-hall of London, to serve in his Majesty's land-forces, upon the terms contained in his Majesty's orders in council: I am commanded by the King to acquaint your Lordship (of which you will be pleased to make the proper communication), that his Majesty thanks the city of London for this fresh testimony of their zeal and affection for his royal person and government.—I am farther commanded by the King, to express his Majesty's most entire satisfaction in this signal proof of the unshaken resolution of the city of London, to support a just and necessary war, undertaken in defence of the rights and honour of his crown, and for the security of the colonies, the trade, and navigation of Great Britain.

I am, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

Several other Cities and Towns offered similar bounties. Such was the general confidence in the minister,

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. SECRETARY PITT,
TO THE SEVERAL GOVERNORS AND COMPANIES
IN NORTH AMERICA, RELATING TO THE FLAG
OF TRUCE TRADE.

GENTLEMEN,

THE commanders of his Majesty's forces and fleets in North America and the West Indies, have transmitted certain and repeated intelligences of an illegal and most pernicious trade carried on by the King's subjects in North America and the West Indies, as well to the French islands as to the French settlements on the continent of North America, and particularly to the rivers Mobile and Mississippi, by which the enemies, to the great reproach and detriment of government, are supplied with provisions and other necessaries; whereby they are principally if not alone, enabled to sustain and protract this long and expensive war. And it further appearing, that large sums of bullion are sent by the King's subjects to the above places, in return whereof commodities are taken, which interfere with the product of the British colonies themselves, in open contempt of the authority of the mother-country, as well as the most manifest prejudice of the manufactures and trade of Great Britain: In order, therefore, to put the most speedy and effectual stop to such flagitious practices, so utterly subversive of all laws, and so highly repugnant to the well being of this kingdom:

It is his Majesty's express will and pleasure, that you do forthwith make the strictest and most diligent enquiry into the state of this dangerous and ignominious trade; and that you do use every means in your power to detect and discover persons concerned either as principals or accessaries therein; and that you do take every step authorised by law, to bring all such heinous offenders to the most exemplary and condign punishment: and you will, as soon as may be, and from time to time, transmit to me, for the King's information, full and particular accounts of the progress you shall have made in the execution of these his Majesty's commands; to the which the King expects that you pay the most exact obedience; and you are further to use your utmost endeavours, to trace out and investigate the various artifices and evasions by which the dealers in this iniquitous intercourse find means to cover their criminal proceedings, and to elude the law: in order, that from such lights due and timely considerations may be had what further provisions may be necessary to restrain an evil of such extensive and pernicious consequences.

I am, &c.

W. PIT T.

Whitehall, Aug. 23, 1760.

COPY

E.

COPY OF THE TREATIES BETWEEN THE KING OF
GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA,
FROM THE 16TH OF JANUARY, 1756, TO THE
12TH OF DECEMBER, 1760.

[To prevent a repetition of these treaties, which a separation of them according to their respective dates, might occasion, we have printed them all together.]

AS the differences which have arisen in America, between the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, and the consequences of which become every day more alarming, give room to fear for the public tranquillity of Europe; his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, &c. and his Majesty the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburgh, attentive to an object so very interesting, and equally desirous of preserving the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular, have resolved to enter into such measures as may the most effectually contribute to so desirable an end; and, for this purpose, they have respectively authorised their ministers plenipotentiary, viz. in the name, and on the part of his Britannic Majesty, his privy counsellors, Philip, earl of Hardwicke, chancellor of Great Britain; John, earl of Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles, duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert, earl of Holderness,

one

one of the principal secretaries of state; and Henry Fox another of the principal secretaries of state; and in the name, and on the part, of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieur Lewis Michell, his *chargé d'affaires* at the court of his Britannic Majesty: who, after having mutually communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ART. I. There shall be, between the said most serene kings, a perfect peace and mutual amity, notwithstanding the troubles that may arise in Europe, in consequence of the abovementioned differences; so that neither of the contracting parties shall attack or invade, directly or indirectly, the territories of the other; but, on the contrary, shall exert, each of them, their utmost efforts, to prevent their respective allies from undertaking any thing against the said territories in any manner whatever.

ART. II. If, contrary to all expectation, and in violation of the peace which the high-contracting parties propose to maintain by this treaty in Germany, any foreign power should cause troops to enter into the said Germany, under any pretext whatsoever, the two high-contracting parties shall unite their forces to punish this infraction of the peace, and maintain the tranquillity of Germany, according to the purport of the present treaty.

ART. III. The high-contracting parties renew expressly all the treaties of alliance and guaranty which actually subsist between them, and particularly the

the defensive alliance and mutual guaranty, concluded at Westminster between their Britannic and Prussian majesties the 18th of November, 1742, the convention entered into between their said majesties at Hanover the 26th of August, 1745; and the act of acceptation of his Prussian majesty of the guaranty of his Britannic majesty of the 13th of October, 1746.

ART. IV. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the king of Prussia; and the letters of ratification in due form shall be delivered on both sides within the space of one month, or sooner if possible, reckoning from the day of signing the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the under signed, furnished with the full powers of their majesties the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and thereto set our seals. Done at Westminster the sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE, C.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE,

(L. S.) H. FOX.

As the convention of neutrality of the date of this day, signed by the ministers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and of his majesty the King of Prussia, furnished with the full powers necessary for that purpose, relates only to Germany; this convention must

must not be understood to extend to the Austrian Low-countries and their dependencies, which ought not to be considered as comprised in the present convention of neutrality, under any pretext whatsoever: the rather, as his majesty the king of Prussia hath not, in the eighth article of the peace of Dresden, guarantied to her majesty, the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, any thing but the dominions which she possesses in Germany.

This secret and separate article shall have the same force as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the present convention of neutrality signed this day; and the ratification of it shall be exchanged at the same time with those of the said convention.

In witness whereof we the under-signed, furnished with the full powers of their majesties the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present secret and separate article, and thereto set our seals. Done at Westminster, the 16th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE, C.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE,

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE,

(L. S.) H. FOX.

DECLARATION.

In order to prevent any disputes that might arise between their Prussian and Britannic majesties, it is hereby declared, that as soon as his Prussian majesty shall

shall have taken off the attachment laid upon the Silesia debt, and caused to be paid to his Britannic majesty's subjects what remains due to them of that debt, as well interest as principal, according to the original contract; his Britannic majesty promises and engages, on his part, to cause to be paid to his Prussian majesty the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, in full satisfaction of every claim, which his said majesty or his subjects may have against his Britannic majesty, under any pretext whatsoever.

Done at Westminster, the sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) LOUIS MICHELL.

TREATY BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND THE KING
OF PRUSSIA, APRIL 11TH, 1758.

[This is Mr. Pitt's Treaty with Prussia, and the reader will observe the difference between this Treaty and the prior one.]

AS on the sixteenth day of January, 1756, there was concluded and signed between their Britannic and Prussian majesties, a treaty, the purport of which was to preserve the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular; and whereas since that period, France hath not only invaded the Empire with numerous armies, and attacked their foresaid majesties and their allies, but hath also excited other powers to do the same: and whereas it is notorious,

rious, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian majesty to defend himself against the numerous enemies, who have assailed him on so many sides at once, have occasioned very heavy expences, whilst on the other hand, his revenues have been considerably diminished in those parts of his dominions which have been the seat of war; and their majesties having jointly resolved to continue their efforts for their mutual defence and security, for recovering their dominions, protecting their allies, and maintaining the liberties of the Germanic body: his Britannic majesty is determined, in consequence of these considerations, to give immediate supply, in money, to his Prussian majesty, as being the most speedy and effectual; and their foresaid majesties have thought proper, that, upon this head, there should be concluded a convention, declaring and fixing their mutual intentions in this particular; for this purpose they have named and authorised their respective ministers, viz. in the name, and on the part of his Britannic majesty, his privy counsellors, Sir Robert Henley, keeper of the great seal of Great Britain; John, earl of Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles, duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert, earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip, earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, another of the principal secretaries of state: and in the name, and on the part of his Prussian majesty, Dodo Henry, Baron

Báron Kynphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy, and his minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Britannic majesty, and Lous Michell, his *chargé d'affaires* at the said court: who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ART. I. His majesty, the king of Great Britain, engages to cause to be paid, in the city of London, into the hands of such person, or persons, as shall be authorised for that purpose by his majesty the king of Prussia, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling; which sum shall be paid in whole, and at one single term, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, at the requisition of his Prussian majesty.

ART. II. His majesty, the king of Prussia engages on the other hand, to employ the said sum in maintaining and augmenting his forces, which shall act in the manner the most advantageous to the common cause, and the most conducive to the end proposed by their said majesties, of reciprocal defence, and mutual security.

ART. III. The high-contracting parties, moreover engage, viz. on the one side his Britannic majesty, as well king as elector, and, on the other his Prussian majesty, not to conclude any *treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or other convention or agreement whatever, with the powers who have taken part in*

the

the present war, but in *concert and mutual agreement*, and by comprehending each other by name:

ART. IV. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged on both sides, in the space of six weeks, reckoning from the date of signing the present convention, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned ministers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and of his majesty the king of Prussia, in virtue of our full power, have signed the present convention, and thereto set our seals.--Done at London the eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C.S.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE.

(L. S.) WILLIAM Pitt.

DECLARATION BELONGING TO THE TREATY WITH THE KING OF PRUSSIA, OF 11 APRIL, 1758.

IN consequence of the convention signed this day, his Britannic majesty very freely declares, that he will immediately apply to his faithful parliament, in order to be put into a condition to pay and to maintain in Germany, an army of fifty thousand men, at the expence of the crown of Great Britain; and his majesty, moreover, very willingly declares, that in quality of elector, he will likewise augment

the said army with a body of five thousand men ; the whole of which shall act, with the utmost vigour, against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia; in such places, as the reason of war, and the good of the common cause shall require.

And that nothing, which can reasonably be desired of his majesty, may be left unattempted for the good of the common cause, in a manner consistent with the safety of his kingdoms, and the vigorous prosecution of the necessary operations in America, it is the intention of his majesty, that a considerable part of his land-forces, and a squadron of ships, destined for the service of the channel, should be employed in such a manner as may the most effectually annoy the enemy ; for which purpose his majesty has ordered a camp to be formed in the isle of Wight. And as Mr. Michell, the Prussian minister, resident at his majesty's court, has represented how advantageous it would be to the affairs of his Prussian majesty, that a detachment of the English troops should be sent to secure the town of Embden, till such time as the king of Prussia shall be able to take proper measures for the protection of that place ; the king hesitates not to give his Prussian majesty this fresh proof of his sincere friendship, and for that purpose hath ordered one of his battalions to march, without loss of time, to Embden ; and he will cause to be communicated to the minister of his Prussian majesty a copy of the instructions drawn up for the commander of that battalion.

As soon as the convention signed to-day shall have been communicated to the parliament (a step necessary to make good the pecuniary supply therein stipulated), and as soon as, in consequence of that communication, the sum shall have been voted; it will then depend upon his Prussian majesty to make use of it at such times as he shall judge proper.

'Tis with the sincerest regret, that the king again finds himself under an absolute necessity of refusing to enter into any engagement with regard to sending a squadron of ships into the Baltic. In order, however, still further to convince his Prussian majesty, that the sole and only source of the difficulties which occur on this point, is the inutility and danger of sending thither a small fleet, and the impossibility of being able to spare one that could make itself sufficiently respected in those parts, and by no means a regard to any of the powers who have taken part in the war; and in order to demonstrate the more clearly to all Europe, that, from the moment of the ratification of the present treaty, their Britannic and Prussian majesties have the same friends, and the same enemies; the king is ready to make such a declaration, as, in the opinion of his Prussian majesty, may strengthen the common cause, and promote their mutual interests; in case the king of Prussia, in the present disposition of the courts of Petersbourg and Stockholm, recommends a language different from.

that which his Prussian majesty hath hitherto advised and concerted with the king.

Done at London, the 11th day of April, 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C. S.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE.

(L. S.) WILLIAM Pitt.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND THE
KING OF PRUSSIA, 7TH DEC. 1758.

BE it known to all those whom it either does or may concern, that the burdensome war in which his Prussian majesty finds himself engaged, laying him under a necessity of making new efforts to defend himself against the numerous enemies who have invaded his dominions : and being thus obliged to enter into new measures with his Britannic majesty, in order to provide reciprocally and jointly, for their mutual defence and common safety ; and his majesty the king of Great Britain having at the same time signified a desire of strengthening the bands of friendship which subsist between the two courts, and to agree anew, upon this occasion and to this end, by an express convention, upon the succours by which he may assist his Prussian majesty the most speedily and the most effectually ; their said majesties have, for that purpose, named and authorised their respective

tive ministers, viz.—[The names of the ministers are the same with those in the treaty immediately preceding.]

ART. I. It is agreed, that all former treaties subsisting between the two courts, of what date and nature soever, and especially that of Westminster of the 16th of January, 1756, as well as the convention of the 11th of April of the current year, shall be considered as renewed and confirmed by the present convention, in all their points, articles, and clauses, and shall have the same force as if they were inserted here word for word.

ART. II. This article is the same with the first article of the preceding treaty.

ART. III. This article is the same with the second article of the preceding treaty.

ART. IV. This article is the same with the third article of the preceding treaty.

ART. V. This article is the same with the fourth article of the preceding treaty.

In witness whereof, &c.

Done at London, the 7th of December, 1758.

- (L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C. S.
- (L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.
- (L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.
- (L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.
- (L. S.) HARDWICKE.
- (L. S.) WILLIAM PITT.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY AND THE
KING OF PRUSSIA, 9TH NOVEMBER, 1759.

THIS treaty is the same with the preceding, except the alteration of the date; and is signed by the same ministers.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY KING
GEORGE III. AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA,
12TH DECEMBER, 1760.

THIS treaty is also the same with the preceding, except the alteration of the date; and is likewise signed by the same ministers.

This treaty of the 12th of December, 1760, was the LAST treaty our court made with Prussia during the war, and it was the FIRST treaty made in the reign of George the Third. It was concluded in six weeks after his accession, and was a copy of the treaty of 1758, the third article of which the reader has observed runs thus:

"Neither of the high-contracting parties shall conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or agreement whatever, with the powers who have taken part in the present war, but in concert and mutual agreement, and by comprehending each other by name."

The treaty of peace between Great Britain and France signed at Paris on the tenth day of February, 1763, was concluded without the consent and mutual agreement of the King of Prussia. The fact is notorious, and established

established beyond contradiction. Thus was observed the maiden faith of the new reign, and the whole world were thereby given to understand, that the faith of the British nation depended not upon any sense of public honour or dread of private reproach, but upon the caprice of a favourite, deciding upon national measures, and influencing the appointment of ministers. Sir Wm. Temple observes—“ A breach of faith is highly unjust in a subject, but absolutely unpardonable in a prince.”

F.

CHARACTER OF GEORGE II.

THIS prince, though not born in this country, was educated in those principles by which the nation rose to power and happiness, and gloried in being the king of a free people. He carried the power and commerce of the nation to a degree to which they had never till then attained. Abroad, he established the importance, the honour, and dignity of his crown, upon a footing not known before his time to a king of this country, and made the name of Englishman respectable in every corner of the world. No foreign power trifled with his resentment, or despoiled his people with impunity. It hath been said that he had prejudices; and the assertion, from the mouths of Tories and Jacobites should not surprise us. The nation was benefited by the prejudices of this prince. Abroad, they operated against the natural enemies of the kingdom; at home, against the enemies of

the national freedom, and of the protestant establishment made at the revolution : against those who preferred the odious tyrannical government of the accursed race of Stuart, to the mild and legal government of the House of Hanover ; against those who held to the divine, indefeasible, hereditary right of princes, and to the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance ; those men who, when in possession of power, in every instance, have driven hard to the destruction of England, and from whose pernicious projects this country hath been more than once saved by almost miraculous interposition. If he headed a party, it was the most glorious of all parties—the national freedom ; if he encouraged and supported a particular set of men, it was those who distinguished themselves most in their attachment to that cause ; if he were averse to another set, he was only averse to them as public men ; averse to their being in the first departments of the state, because their maxims of government were incompatible with the happiness of his people ; and when he did employ them, which he did more frequently than they deserved to have been, he took care to put it out of their power to practise their mischievous principles, by distributing them chiefly among the subaltern offices of the state, and by keeping a sufficient number of whigs in the higher departments to watch and over-rule their pernicious projects. If he loved war, he made not his own subjects the devoted objects of his

his vengeance. Foreign, national, natural, manly war, upon British principles, in defence of British rights, he indeed entered into, prosecuted with ardour, and reaped the most glorious consequences from, for this country. He was honest, wise, brave, and liberal. Capable of opening his heart to new connections, he did not contract and give it up to one man; but when the voice of his people demanded it, he yielded up the object of his choice, and received the object of theirs to his bosom. The greatest of his favourites, if he ever had any in the criminal sense of that term, were made to yield. Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle, who, by long lives of useful service, had well earned the favour of this monarch, had each their favourite measures, and at different periods were compelled to sacrifice an excise scheme, and a jew bill, and finally their places, to the demands of his people. He received Mr. Pitt from the people, as the gift of the people; and when the public good required a sacrifice of that resentment which had been excited in his mind by the parliamentary conduct of that person, who had opposed his best and most favoured servants with unusual violence, he made it with manliness and dignity.

G.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTER OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY BILSON LEGGE.
BY DR. JOHN BUTLER,¹ WHO WAS COLLATED
TO THE SEE OF OXFORD, UPON THE TRANSLA-
TION OF DR. LOWTH, IN THE YEAR 1777.

THE reputation of men, who have been distinguished by their parts, virtues, and public services, being canvassed by many who had little or no personal knowledge of them, and the judgments formed by others being sometimes malicious, and generally partial, there remains, in most cases, some justice to be done to the memory and real merits of such men. This is but seldom a popular undertaking. The public is more attentive to censure than praise; and, during the lives of eminent men, a true description of them is discredited, by the resemblance it bears to the language of flattery.

The character of Mr. Legge is so circumstanced, that a true account of him may venture to appear, without soliciting attention or credit. It comes too late to be suspected of flattery, and the public is prepossessed in its favour, which would be a considerable encouragement to an essay of this kind, even without the farther advantage of an appeal, which might be made to many great and respectable persons who knew Mr. Legge, and are qualified to attest any truth, or expose any falsehood, concerning him.

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He was so well known, that it seems unnecessary to mention, that he was nobly born. The formal introduction of a pedigree is superfluous in the case of a character eminently meritorious in itself; and his noble family will pardon the liberty of saying, that however great the honour might be, which he derived from his birth, it became inconsiderable when compared with his personal merits and excellencies.

He was not educated at any of those schools which produce most of the ornaments and supporters of their country; but he was a remarkable instance, how indifferent it is in what nursery a man of strong parts, natural wit, and superior judgment, has been raised. Notwithstanding he entered upon business very early, and applied himself to it with the closest attention, very few of his rank were so well acquainted with the most eminent Greek and Roman classics; and he was singularly happy in the application of passages which he seemed to have hardly time to consider.

He was designed, in his younger years, for the service of his country, in the royal navy; but that service being at that time inactive, he quitted it after one or two voyages, and becoming known to Sir Robert Walpole, was received into the family and confidence of that minister; and, after having filled the station of his secretary for some years, he obtained a seat in parliament, and passed through the several offices of secretary to the treasurer; secretary to the

the Duke of Devonshire, father of the late Duke, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; one of the commissioners of the admiralty; envoy-extraordinary to the court of Berlin; treasurer of the navy; chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and one of the commissioners of the treasury; and he continued to the last one of his majesty's privy council.

These things are barely, and perhaps not accurately mentioned, because other men have passed through such offices. Eminence of station not being, in every case, an argument of eminent worth, it is, in itself, but a feeble recommendation to posterity, and will prove no more at best, than that the person exalted was fortunate. The moderation and equanimity with which Mr. Legge bore his success, was the more extraordinary, as he was one of the few men advanced to high offices, who are not so much obliged to fortune as to themselves; and if his character could be duly represented to future times, his promotion would appear to have done honour to the present age.

The characters of persons of distinction are often celebrated by a recital of the vices and failings from which they are exempt; and in this view, there are perhaps none among the most exceptionable, totally excluded from praise. But this would be but a poor description of the real virtues and excellencies of Mr. Legge. They were inconsistent with many or great failings, and they so possessed the attention of his observers,

servers, and so effectually concealed the few foibles which he might have, that malice itself appears, from some things which were said of him, to have been quite at a loss, on what part of his character to alight.

He did not pretend to be singular in any of his virtues, and it would be a needless exaggeration to represent him so. But some of the virtues he had, appeared so much the genuine result of that happy constitution of heart and temper which distinguished him, that they became characteristical in him; and a description of his person and manner would not present him more strikingly to the memory of those who knew him, than the bare mention of his integrity, candour, and benevolence.

But he was distinguished by abilities less common than even his virtues. They might seem to be limited, as having been chiefly displayed to the public in the last office he filled. But the fundamental qualifications for such offices of business as are not professional, being much the same, it may be said, without derogating from the great men who have excelled in their departments, that Mr. Legge was qualified for any. With a penetrating apprehension, and a memory remarkably tenacious of substantial knowledge, he had a judgment so clear and sound, that it seems hardly possible for any human mind to be more accurate, unembarrassed, and comprehensive of all the ideas related to the subject before him, as well as of all the consequences which follow from comparing them.

He assisted these great powers of his understanding by an indefatigable industry, not commonly annexed to extraordinary parts; and he kept his mind open for the admission of any material instruction, by a modesty of temper natural to men who seem to need instruction least. Though he was never first commissioner of the treasury, yet his office of chancellor of the exchequer obliging him to move for the supplies in parliament, and to promise the ways and means, he seemed to think himself responsible for his knowledge in the business of his office, as well as for his integrity in the discharge of it. He did not, it is well known, solicit, nor accept the office without reluctance, being discouraged by the distinguished abilities of two great predecessors of his, whose eminence in that branch was particularly known and understood by him.

But he was prevailed with to sacrifice his ease and happiness; and he soon manifested how considerable the sacrifice was, in his estimation, by the assiduity with which he applied himself to the study of the whole system of the public revenue, as well as by the gratitude with which he embraced the aids that books or men could give him; and, by naturalizing in his own mind all the knowledge he could collect, he acquired in a very short space of time as familiar an acquaintance with that complex important business, as if he had been trained up to it from his infancy, and had made it the sole study of his life.

He digested in his thoughts, and knew how to deliver with the utmost precision and perspicuity, a methodical account of the produce of every tax; of its former state; of its probable future diminution or increase; of its relation to any other tax, as well as to public liberty; of the condition of every branch of trade and luxury, and of the country in general, to bear the burthens laid upon it; of the state of public credit, and the due proportion between the terms of a loan and the public exigencies; of the means of alleviating the national burthens by real œconomy, in the reduction of the establishment, as well as by practicable unpretending schemes for the gradual discharge of the public debt; and of the various contingencies which might forward or retard that great work. He has left written evidences of the singular skill and accuracy with which he considered each of these subjects.

Furnished with this knowledge, to a degree apparently peculiar to him, he entered upon his office with the additional advantage of a general prepossession in favour of his integrity; and during the time he served the crown in that department, he executed without the power of a minister, and without any loss of popularity, the most unpopular, though at that time necessary work, of raising more supplies than had ever been raised within the same number of years.

The popularity of the administration with which he acted, and the encouraging successes of the war, doubtless

doubtless greatly assisted him; and it would be infamous to detract, in any degree, from the merits of an administration which did so much honour to the king and nation. But they who have the spirit to persevere, in admiring the public measures of that time, will do Mr. Legge the justice to confess, that his personal merit, and his credit with parliament and with the public, were always clearly discernible, when he conducted the invidious part of the business of government.

Without pretending to eloquence, and with a subject which will not easily admit the exercise of that talent, he was heard with an attention seldom paid to speeches which must consist principally of arithmetical details. He was sure to keep up that attention, by a precision in his thoughts, which would not permit him, had he been inclined, to be tediously verbose; and he preserved his own, and in a certain degree, the credit of government, by neither pretending nor promising more than he could, with the strictest regard to truth.

After his dismission from office, he continued, whilst his health would permit, to attend with the same application and vigilance, to the national finances, as a member of parliament; and, in more than one instance, he assisted persons who had no particular claims upon him, rather than the crown or public should suffer by his silence. And this he did at a time when he thought himself personally affronted,

by

by the resolution of a great board to deprive a near relation of his, who was not of an age to be obnoxious to government himself, of an emolument which had with equal propriety and kindness been conferred upon him.

With so deep and extensive a fund of knowledge, so precisely arranged in his mind, and most judiciously applied to the service of his country, Mr. Legge was eminently qualified for the more inactive enjoyments of literature. Besides the pleasure he extracted from the best historians, philosophers, and divines, he had a taste for works of imagination, not common even among scholars; and knew how to relieve his labours and cares, in his few vacant hours, with the best writers of that kind, ancient and modern, whose beauties he would relish and assimilate to his own ideas, with all the satisfaction of an ingenious man at perfect leisure.

But his friends could not spare him much uninterrupted pleasure of this sort; for he had another faculty, likewise foreign to the unentertaining track of business. He was one of the best companions of his time. His wit was copious, easy, cheerful, chaste and original. He would animate the gravest conversation with some striking image which presented all the essential circumstances of a subject at once before the mind; he illustrated his images by embellishments, which the most fruitful imagination could not produce, without the aid of a most cheerful temper!

Having a perpetual supply of this sort of entertainment, he was never tempted to have recourse to the poor expedient of keeping up mirth by excesses of licentiousness. Nor would his humanity suffer him to display his wit at the expence of any person in company. He could be lively without the aid of other men's foibles; or if they pressed upon him so directly as not to be avoided, his raillery was inoffensive, and even agreeable to the object of it. If absent men were mentioned, whom he either disliked or despised, he had the happy art of venting his disgust or contempt by some pleasant expression of indifference, which sheltered perhaps an odious or a despicable character from more severe reflections, by only giving it a ridiculous aspect. Had his good sayings been treasured up, as those of much inferior wits have been, they would have descended to posterity; and many of them would have been relished without a comment in any age. But he aimed at no reputation of this sort, and was so natural and easy in his manner, that his brightest thoughts dropped from him like common conversation, without the least appearance of any view to the success with which they were delivered.

These extraordinary powers, which are seldom united in the same mind, and continued remarkably vigorous in his, to his last moments, were the more amiable as well as solid in him, as they were accompanied by a most virtuous heart. It would be a painful

painful task, and revive the excesses of private grief, to represent the loss of him in his domestic character, where he was, in every respect and relation, an illustrious example of fidelity and tenderness. But his benevolence was not limited here, nor by any other known boundary, than the limits of his power, or the demerits perhaps of particular men. Nor were these, in every case, obstacles to his good-will. He had doubtless penetration enough to discern human failings upon a very slight acquaintance; but he never suffered his mind to dwell upon them, if he could discover, or thought he had discovered a sufficient quantity of that probity and good nature which he valued above other accomplishments, and esteemed a compensation for many failings.

He seemed more particularly averse to hypocrisy and affectation of every sort, perhaps as being most opposite to his own temper and character. Common infirmities appeared either ridiculous or tolerable to him; but he could not bear to see the commerce of mutual good-will and esteem interrupted by the frauds of unfair dealers, who give themselves credit for more virtue and ability than they have. He had a better right than most men, to entertain, and express a strong dislike of such persons, not only as he was disposed, in other cases, to make great allowance for the natural desire men have to advance forward in life. He was known to contribute warmly, to the utmost of his power, sometimes at the hazard

of his power, to promote the views of his friends. He would ingenuously confess he had an end of his own in conferring such obligations. His state of health, till within a year before he died, seemed to promise him a vigorous and lasting old age; and he thought a faithful obliged friend would be the most valuable of all the *Subsidia Senectutis*.

His sincerity being like the rest of his virtues, tinctured with his natural good-humour, produced in him that amiable candour which sometimes broke out, in the midst of political contests, in a frank acknowledgment of truths on either side, which little minds, engaged in contests, are studious to suppress. Indeed, he could well afford to be candid on all occasions, being conscious, that the known purity of his intentions would support him in any concession which truth or good-nature impelled him to make.

He was as ingenuous in speaking of himself, as upon any other subject; and, instead of urging his pretensions with vehemence; or, as is often done, with a disregard to truth, he was never known to assume false merit in his conduct, public or private; and his friends rather blamed him, for not valuing himself sufficiently upon the merit he could truly pretend to. But he was of too gentle and easy a mind to avail himself of all his claims, and trusted to the world, of which he had a better opinion than men of penetration generally have, that his conduct, so far

far as was understood, would secure to him as much reputation as he desired. Nor was he deceived in his opinion, for the inward respect of mankind towards him was as general as he could have wished it to be had ambition been his ruling passion. The public sense of his worth was signally manifested at one time by many unsought marks of esteem, and such as have always been thought honourable. Nor did they appear to be the result of mere transient fits of popularity; for his reputation continued unshaken to the end of his life, and the almost universal regret of men of all parties followed him to his grave.

But the best men cannot pass through life without some censure. His known public conduct, and his exemplary private life, seemed to secure him from any attack of this sort. But envy and malice being keen and active, will suspect where they cannot charge, and insinuate where they cannot accuse. The strict and unaffected œconomy he practised in behalf of the public, as far as lay in his power, together with his aversion in his private life, to the mere glittering expences of vanity, brought upon him the suspicion of too much parsimony in his temper, which they, who best knew Mr. Legge and his affairs, know to have been ill founded. He did not transgress the bounds of his fortune, and involve his posterity in difficulties, in order to purchase himself the temporary fame of splendour and magnificence; but he did full justice to the world, by living up to

his rank and fortune, as well as by many private acts of beneficence, which he was too generous to divulge; and, after having evinced his disinterestedness, on many occasions, in the course of public business, he amply satisfied those, who might suspect him of parsimony, or might, from his unpretending manner, mistake him as wanting the spirit of which he did not boast, that he valued his honour more than any other consideration.

It would have sufficed to mention this in general terms, without entering into a proof of it, had he not made it his dying request to the noble personage, who was best intitled to his affection and confidence, to lay before the public, in vindication of him, the only reasons he knew of his dismission from office. He had acquiesced silently in that dismission, apprehending, that the time might come when his irreproachable conduct and character would efface the impression of private misrepresentations. But when he found that the hopes of a recovery, with which he was often flattered, in the course of his disease, were quite vanished, and that it would be his lot to die in a state of disgrace with a most amiable and virtuous k—, he apprehended for himself, lest his good name, which the best men have always wished to transmit to posterity, should suffer from a presumption easily propagated, that there must have been something wrong in him to produce a dismission, which is, in the case of most individuals removed from offices of state, a punishment of misconduct.

He was therefore anxiously desirous the world should know, that he was not turned out for any blemish in his private or public character, and he thought it the most satisfactory method of securing his posthumous reputation, to publish the few papers which explain his case. He apprehended himself intitled to do this in his own vindication, as the papers contain no secrets, either of state, or of private friendship. They are, agreeably to his desire, here laid before the world, in their original form, with only a previous short narrative of the transaction which occasioned them.

Upon the present Duke of Bolton's accession to his title, in the year 1759, Mr. Legge was solicited to succeed his Grace, as one of the representatives of the county of Southampton, his own seat in parliament chancing at that time to be vacant. He could not well have been importuned to an undertaking more unpleasant to him, and he declined it more than once without reserve. The bustle of a popular election was unnatural to his liberal mind and manners, and a relation of that kind, to a large county, in which he resided, might appear inconvenient to him, whose hands were at that time filled with public business. But he was prevailed with to accept the offer, by the repeated intreaties of his friends, which were inforced by the plea, that his fortune and character would do credit to a party, which had all his life been countenanced by govern-

ment, and with which he had ever acted uniformly, though with undissembled moderation and good humour towards the other party. And he had the further encouragement of hoping, from the interest of the crown exerted in his favour, in conjunction with that of the then prevailing party in the county, as well as with his own personal interest, which was very considerable, that his election would not be contested.

However he fell into the disagreeable work of a contest. His competitor was Mr. Stuart, now Sir Simeon Stuart; and he found Mr. Stuart's interest adopted by a noble Lord (Lord Bute) with whom Mr. Legge was not at variance; who had no apparent relation of any kind to the county; whom therefore Mr. Legge did not think of consulting before he resolved to comply with the desire of his friends.

After the county had been canvassed on both sides, Mr. Stuart thought fit to decline, and Mr. Legge received the following letter:

“ *Downing-street, Nov. 25, Monday evening.* ”

“ Dear Sir,

“ Lord Bute sent to me this morning, and told me, that having an opportunity of saving you he had embraced it, and done you an act of friendship; for that Mr. Stuart having been with him for his advice, whether to leave or pursue the election, as some of Mr. Stuart's friends thought this critical season of an invasion hanging over the kingdom to be a very improper time for parliamentary contests, his Lord-

ship

ship had determined the point for relinquishing the pursuit; in consequence of which Mr. Stuart was to acquaint you with his resolution of declining a poll. Lord B. added, that neither he, nor the greater person whose name hath been used during the competition, would ever treat you with the more coldness for what hath happened; your part having been taken under an ignorance of their views and intentions; that Lord B. expected, however, as he had a claim upon you, in right of friendship, that you will concur with him, and give your aid to the person he shall recommend at a future election. I answered to the last point, that I knew not how far you would think yourself bound in honour to act with the body of whigs on such an occasion; but if this consideration did not hinder, I was sure you would be happy to give him that or any other evidence of your respect for him.

" You will be pleased therefore, to consider well, and (if you please) with the advice of your friends, before you give an answer on this head, that may tie you down, for on that answer you plainly see, very much will depend.

" I am, dear Sir,

" Faithfully yours,

" S. M."

To this letter Mr. Legge returned the following answer:

" Holte,

" Holte, Dec. 5th, 1759.

" Dear M.

" I return you many thanks for your letter. Since I received it I have had an opportunity of seeing a little more of the spirit and temper of the county, and can answer it better than I could have done sooner. L—r H—e do me great justice in supposing I was totally ignorant of their concerning themselves at all in the Hampshire election, at the time my engagements were taken. I am obliged to Lord B. for any intentions he had to save me, by the advice he gave to drop opposition; but if Mr. Stuart, or his friends, had accepted the offer I made, with the concurrence of my friends, at the beginning, and as soon as I discovered what turn the election might take, every wish of Mr. Stuart's had been secured, the peace of the county never been interrupted, little less than 5000l. a-piece saved to us both, and what is still of more consequence, a month's fermentation of parties been entirely prevented, which never fails to turn them all sour. Many of these good consequences had likewise been obtained, if the gentlemen had consulted, and enabled Lord B. to put an end to the contest before I left London, when you know how unwilling I was to push it to extremity.

" As to the event of the election, there was not the least doubt about it.. The county was thoroughly canvassed, and upon as exact returns, as I believe ever

ever are or can be made in a case of this kind, I could have given Mr. Stuart all the doubtful ones and all the neuters, in addition to his own poll, and yet have carried the election by a majority of 1400. I did not come into a single town, (except Alton) where it was not expected every day, that the opposition would be given up, and where almost any odds would not have been laid, that it never came to a poll. Nor do I think any consultation would have been held about dropping the affair, if all the money subscribed against me, and more, had not been expended, and all probability of carrying the point entirely vanished. This is my own firm opinion and belief, and yet, whoever reads my advertisement will see, that I have acted with the utmost candour, and given my opponents credit for such motives of retreat, as I am sure do them no dishonour. The expence indeed would have been enormous, if the dispute had been carried thorough, and so far I own there is a saving to us both, for I am convinced it would have amounted to above 20,000l. a-piece. This is a sum I should have felt severely, and yet after my offer to compromise had been rejected, I must and would have spent it, and could have done it without mortgaging my estate; I leave you to judge what effect it would have had on Mr. Stuart's.

" After saying thus much, I am very far from having any personal dislike to Mr. Stuart; on the contrary, I think he has been cruelly treated by some

of

of his friends; and if the prevailing party in this county will receive him without opposition I shall be very well satisfied, and glad of it. But if the whigs and dissenters, who are very numerous in this county, will make a point of opposing him, it will be impossible for me to declare for him and abandon those, who have supported me, to take part with those, against whom they have supported me. This would not only put my own election in jeopardy, but be so ungrateful and disreputable a part for me to act, that it would in the same proportion make my assistance ineffectual to the person I should join with,

“ I am, &c.

“ H. B. LEGGE.”

Upon this answer Mr. Legge received a verbal message from lord B. by Mr. M. Dec. 12, 1759, the purport of which was, as it stands upon Mr. Legge's paper, “ that he should bid adieu to the county of Southampton at the general election, and assist, as far as lay in his power, the P— of W—'s nomination of two members;” to which message a categorical answer was required, and Mr. Legge sent the following in writing on the same day:

“ Mr. Legge understanding it to be expected that he (who never had engaged at all in the county of Southampton, if the intentions of L—r H— had been in time communicated to him) shall not only

only refuse to be chosen himself at the next general election, but assist Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Stuart, in opposition to those who have supported Mr. Legge at the late election; is determined to submit to any consequences rather than incur so great a disgrace."

Lord B. sent a reply the same day, which Mr. M. wrote down from his mouth, in the following words:

"The instant Mr. Legge represents himself as bound in honour not to decline standing for Hampshire, at the next general election, Lord B. is firmly persuaded that the P—— will by no means desire it of him; but he does out of real friendship to Mr. Legge beseech him to consider very seriously, whether, after triumphing over the P——'s inclinations at present, lord B. has any method left of removing prejudices, that the late unhappy occurrences have strongly impressed the P—— with, than by being enabled to assure him, that Mr. Legge will, as far as shall be in his power, to co-operate with his R—— H——'s wishes at the next general election."

Mr. Legge returned the following final answer:

"Though in fact Mr. Legge has been so unhappy as to find himself opposed to the P—— of W——'s inclinations, yet as to intention, Mr. Legge feels himself entirely blameless; and has too high a veneration for the P—— of W——'s justice to think he will conceive lasting prejudices against any man, for resisting those inclinations of which he was totally ignorant.

"As

" As Mr. Legge flatters himself this consideration will induce the P—— of W—— to forgive his entering into engagements with the county of Southampton, he is certain that his R—— H—— will not condemn his adhering to those engagements, when entered into.

" God-forbid Mr. Legge should be suspected of triumphing over the P—— of W——'s inclinations! The contrary was so much his intention, that from the moment he discovered which way those inclinations lay, there was no endeavour he did not use, to avoid the dispute with honor; nor did Mr. Legge exert himself, either in point of expence or personal application, till all compromise being rejected, he had no other part left to act.

" Mr. Legge is obliged to Lord B. for the friendship he expresses towards him. Surely his lordship cannot doubt but that Mr. Legge should be extremely glad, if he could find himself in such a situation as would permit him to have the honour of obeying the P—— of W——'s commands, and seconding his wishes, without breaking the faith he has openly and publicly pledged to the county of Southampton. This, if he were to do, he should forfeit all title to the P—— of W——'s countenance and protection, as certainly as he knows he should forfeit his R—— H——'s private good opinion."

Here the correspondence ended. His late majesty died the year following, and at the end of the first session

session of parliament, after his present majesty's accession; Mr. Legge was dismissed, or as he chose to express it, TURNED OUT, after having served the crown and the public, in his department, during that session with his usual ability and fidelity.

He had abundant resources, in his own mind, to reconcile him to private life, and might have had his disgrace glossed over by a favour, which he declined. He said it was his duty to SUBMIT, but not to APPROVE. He had the more valuable and independent satisfaction, soon after the event to be unanimously chosen to represent the county of Southampton at the general election.

The circumstances of his last illness are no farther connected with this account of him, than as some of them remarkably confirmed it, by exhibiting the natural serenity of a strong and good mind, in the last and greatest of all human distresses. As he was above dissembling his satisfaction at the hopes of life, which frequently appeared, so he was above regretting the loss of longer life, or dreading the approach of death, when his case was pronounced desperate. He would reason about the little difference betwixt dying at one time or another, or of this or that disease, with a most exemplary calmness, and with the same undisturbed state of mind, with which any philosopher, in perfect health ever wrote about death. And when the sentence of nature against him appeared quite irrevocable, he was a shining, though melancholy instance

instance of a truth, from which great conclusions have been drawn, that the life and vigour of the human mind, may continue to the last, unimpaired by the most extreme weakness and decay of body.

It would be too little to say of so excellent a man, that the memory of him will be honoured, during the lives of his survivors; for, if eminent ability and integrity, manifested in offices of the highest trust and consequence; if a zeal for public liberty, exerted on all proper occasions, with firmness and decency; if all the talents and virtues which render men respectable and amiable, united in one conspicuous character, and applied to the benefit of mankind, give that character any chance for permanent fame after death, it may be confidently hoped, that Mr. Legge will, in the opinion of posterity, be entitled to one of the first places among the WORTHIES of the present age.

A N E C D O T E.

By another Hand.

IT is a just remark, no matter who made it, that the wisest and best men are soonest forgotten. Every man's experience must furnish him with instances of this kind, and it has been recently exemplified in the little regard which has been paid to the memory of the late Mr. Legge, who has scarce ever been mentioned since his death but for the sake of some idle

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pun upon his name. Yet, though some perhaps might boast of more specious and ornamental accomplishments, yet few were possessed of more useful and respectable talents. Sir Robert Walpole, who was no bad judge of men, upon his early acquaintance with Mr. Legge, gave his opinion of him in very awkward, yet in very expressive terms. He observed, that *he never met with a man who had so little rubbish about him.* Mr. Legge's conduct justified this sentiment of Sir Robert's; for in every department he filled, he appeared to be perfect master of his office, and was at once clear, solid, judicious, and consistent. In short, Mr. Legge throughout supported the character of a sensible and moderate statesman, without being a tool to any party, or a slave to his own passions.

H.

COPIES OF THE DECLARATIONS, LETTERS, AND
MEMORIALS, WHICH PASSED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, IN THE NEGOTIATION FOR
PEACE, IN THE YEAR 1761.

Declaration of their Prussian and Britannic Majesties.

THEIR Britannic and Prussian Majesties touched with compassion when they reflect on the evils which have been occasioned and must still necessarily result from the war which has been kindled for some years past, would think themselves wanting to the duties of

humanity, and particularly regard'less of the interest they take in the preservation and welfare of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected to use proper measures towards checking the progress of this cruel pestilence, and to contribute towards the re-establishment of public tranquillity. It is with this view, and in order to ascertain the sincerity of their intentions in this respect, that their aforesaid Majesties have resolved to make the following declaration :

That they are ready to send Plenipotentiaries to any place which shall be judged most convenient, in order to treat, in conjunction, concerning a general and firm peace, with those whom the Belligerent powers shall think proper to authorize on their side, towards the accomplishment of so salutary an end.

I certify that the above declaration is the same which was dispatched to me by the Earl of Holderness and the Baron Kniphauzen, in the name, and on the part of their Britannic and Prussian majesties.

Given at the Castle of Ryfwick, this 25th of November, 1759.

Signed L. D. de BRUNSWICK.

THE DECLARATION OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY.

THE pacific dispositions which the Kings of England and Prussia expressed the last year, and which are conformable to the sentiments of all the Belligerent

Belligerent Powers, having met with some difficulties which have proyed obstacles to their success, the Courts of France, Vienna, Petersburg, Stockholm, and Warsaw, have unanimously agreed to invite those of London and Berlin, to the renewal of a negotiation so expedient for the welfare of mankind, and which ought to interest all the powers at war in the cause of humanity.

With this view, and in order to proceed towards the re-establishment of peace, they propose the meeting of a Congress, at which they think it will be convenient to admit, with the Plenipotentiaries of the principal Belligerent Powers, no other than those of their allies. If the kings of England and Prussia adopt this measure, his Most Christian Majesty, the Empress Queen, the Empress of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the King of Poland Elector of Saxony, propose the town of Ausburg, as the place of Congress, which they only point out as a town within the reach of all the parties interested, which by its situation seems to suit the convenience of all the States, and they will not oppose the choice of any other town in Germany, which their Britannic and Prussian majesties may deem more convenient.

His Most Christian Majesty, the Empress Queen, the Empress of Russia, and the Kings of Sweden and Poland, declare farther, that they have made choice of Plenipotentiaries, to whom they will commit their interests at the Congress, in expectation

that the King of England, the King of Prussia, and their allies, will speedily make choice of their respective ministers, that the negotiation may not be retarded.

The sincerity of this declaration, which the Courts of France, Vienna, Petersburg, Stockholm, and Warsaw, have, out of regard to the general good, determined to make to the Courts of London and Berlin, gives them to hope that their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, will signify, by a speedy answer, their sentiments on a subject so essential to the peace and welfare of Europe.

By order, and in the name of his Most Christian Majesty.

Signed, the Duke de CHOISEUL.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE DE CHOISEUL TO
MR. PITT.

SIR,

THE King my Master, acting in conformity with the sentiments of his allies, in order, if possible, to procure the re-establishment of a general peace, has authorized me to transmit to your Excellency the Memorial hereto annexed, which solely concerns the interests of France and England, with respect to the particular war between the two Crowns. The King has reason to hope, that the sincere manner in which he proposes to treat with his Britannic Majesty, will banish all mistrust in the course of the negotiation if

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it takes place, and will induce his Britannic Majesty to make the King acquainted with his real sentiments, whether with regard to the continuance of war, or with respect to the conclusion of peace, as well as in relation to the principles on which they ought to proceed, in order to procure this blessing to the two nations.

I will add, that I am likewise authorised to assure your Excellency, that in relation to the war in which the King of Prussia is concerned, the allies of the King my Master are determined to treat of their interests in the future Congress, with the same frankness and sincerity, of which I can give your Excellency assurance on the part of France; and that, so as not to depart from what is due to their dignity, their situation, and the demands of justice, they will bring with them to the negotiation, all the acquiescence, which their humanity dictates for the general good of Europe.

The King, my Master, and his Allies, do not doubt but that they shall find the heart of his Britannic Majesty and his Allies, impressed with the same sentiments. I esteem it a happiness that my office makes me the instrument of conveying such favourable sentiments, which give me an opportunity of assuring your Excellency, with what distinguished consideration I have the honour to be, &c.

MEMORIAL OF THE CHRISTIAN KING.

THE Most Christian King wishes that the separate peace of France with England could be united with the general peace of Europe, which his Majesty most sincerely desires to establish ; but as the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between France and England, is totally foreign from the disputes in Germany, his Most Christian Majesty has thought it necessary to agree with his Britannic Majesty on the principal articles which may form the basis of their separate negotiations, in order to accelerate as much as possible, the general conclusion of the peace.

The best method to accomplish the end proposed, is to remove those intricacies which might prove obstacles to its success. In the business of peace, the disputes of nations concerning their reciprocal conquests, the different opinions with respect to the utility of particular conquests, and the compensations for restitutions, generally form matter of embarrassment at a negotiation of peace. As it is natural for each nation, with regard to these different points, to endeavour the acquisition of all possible advantages, interest and distrust occasion oppositions and produce delays. To obviate these inconveniences, and to testify the sincerity of his proceedings in the course of the negotiation of peace with England, the Most Christian King proposes to agree with his Britannic Majesty,

Majesty, that, with respect to the particular war of France and England, the two Crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered from each other, and that the situation in which they shall stand on the 1st of September, in the year 1761, in the East Indies, on the 1st of July in the same year, in the West Indies and in Africa; and on the 1st of May following in Europe, shall be the position which shall serve as a basis to the treaty which may be negotiated between the two powers. Which shews that the Most Christian King, in order to set an example of humanity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of the general tranquillity, will make a sacrifice of those restitutions which he has a right to claim, at the same time that he will maintain those acquisitions which he has gained from England during the course of the war.

Nevertheless as his Britannic Majesty may think that the periods proposed of the 1st of September, July, and May, are either too near or too distant for the interests of the British Crown, or that his Britannic Majesty may judge it proper to make compensation for the whole, or for part of the reciprocal conquests of the two Crowns, the Most Christian King will readily enter into negotiation with his Britannic Majesty in relation to these two objects, when he shall know his sentiments concerning them; the principal view of his Most Christian Majesty being to testify not only to England, but to the whole world,

his sincere disposition to remove all impediments which might defer the salutary object of peace.

The Most Christian King expects, that the disposition of his Britannic Majesty will be correspondent, and that he will, with equal sincerity, answer all the articles contained in this Memorial, in which the two Powers are so essentially interested.

These pieces were dated the 26th of March, 1761.

MR. PITT'S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF CHOISEUL.

SIR,

London, 8th April, 1761.

THE King my Master has authorized me to transmit to your Excellency, with all the dispatch which was found possible, the Memorial hereto annexed, in answer to that of the 26th of the last month, made by the order, and in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, solely concerning the interests of England and France, relative to the particular war between the two Crowns, which was accompanied by a letter from your Excellency of the same date, transmitted to me by M. the Prince Galitzin.

His Majesty has published his real sentiments, with regard to the salutary business of peace, with the sincerity which his Christian Majesty desires, and of which he himself set the example; the King my Master, on his part, desires nothing more than, by the sincerity of his conduct, to remove all distrust in course of the negotiation.

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I will likewise acquaint your Excellency, that the King learnt with great satisfaction, that your Excellency was authorized to give assurance that, in relation to the war which concerns the King of Prussia, the allies of his Most Christian Majesty are determined to treat with the same openness and sincerity as the Court of France, and that they will bring with them, to the negotiation at the future Congress, all the acquiescence which their unanimity dictates for the general good of Europe.

I must add that, with regard to the war which concerns the King of Prussia, as well as with respect to the other allies of the King my Master, his Majesty, always constant in fulfilling the engagements of his crown with the most scrupulous exactness, can never fail to support their respective interests, whether in the course of the negotiation, (which may God prosper) or in the continuance of the war, (if contrary to all expectation this misfortune should be unavoidable) with the cordiality and efficacy of a sincere and faithful ally.

As to what remains, it is superfluous to mention to what degree his Majesty wishes for this speedy establishment of the general peace in Germany, after the distinguished proof his Majesty has given, in so readily consenting to the proposition of so distant a place as the town of Augsburg for the meeting of the Congress.

Such are the sincere and upright intentions of the King my Master for the re-establishment of the

public tranquillity. I think myself happy in having the charge of conveying such sentiments, and of having an opportunity of assuring your Excellency of the distinguished regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed W. PITT.

THE MEMORIAL OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY,
OF THE 8TH OF APRIL, 1761.

HIS Britannic Majesty, equally desirous with the Most Christian King, that the separate Peace of England and France could be united with the general peace, for which the King of Great Britain is so sincerely interested, that, in regard to this point, he even means that the contests which might arise between the two Crowns concerning their particular differences, should not occasion the least delay to the speedy conclusion of so salutary a work as the general peace of Germany; and his Britannic Majesty is the more confirmed in this sentiment, dictated by humanity towards so many nations, that he feels in all its extent the proposition which the Most Christian King establishes as a fundamental principle; that the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between England and France, is totally foreign from the disputes in Germany.

In consequence of this incontestible principle, the King of Great Britain entirely adopts the sentiment of his Most Christian Majesty, that it is necessary to

agree

agree between the two Crowns on some principal articles, which may form the basis of their particular negotiations, in order the more to accelerate the conclusion of a general peace.

The King of Great Britain equally agrees in general to the proposition which the Most Christian King has made with an openness, in which his Britannic Majesty will concur throughout the course of the negotiation; that is to say, that, in relation to the particular war between England and France,

1. The two Crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered, one from the other. 2. That the situation in which they shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty which may be negotiated the two Powers.

With regard to the first branch of the aforesaid proposition, his Britannic Majesty takes pleasure in doing justice to the magnanimity of His Most Christian Majesty, who, from motives of humanity, determines to sacrifice to the love of peace, the restitution which he thinks he has a right to claim, maintaining at the same time what he has conquered from England during the course of the war.

With respect to the second head of the aforesaid proposition, concerning the reciprocal conquests made by the two Crowns, one upon another; that is to say, That the situation in which they shall stand at the respective periods assigned for the different quarters of the globe, shall serve as a basis for the said

said treaty, the King of Great Britain again acknowledges with satisfaction the candour which is manifested on the part of his Most Christian Majesty in this article, by obviating, as he has done, the extreme difficulties, and by anticipating the indispensable objections, which could not but arise on such a subject; it being in fact self-evident, that expeditions at sea requiring preparations of long standing, and depending on navigations which are uncertain, as well as on the concurrence of seasons, in places which are often too distant for orders relative to their execution to be adapted to the common vicissitudes of negotiations, which for the most part are subject to disappointments and delays, and are always fluctuating and precarious: from whence it necessarily results, that the nature of such operations, is by no means susceptible, without prejudice to the party who employs them, of any other epochas, than those which have reference to the day of signing the treaty of peace.

Nevertheless as this consideration, as well as that which respects the compensations (if such shall be found proper to be made between the two Crowns) on account of their reciprocal conquests, comprehend the most interesting and capital articles of the treaty, and as it is upon these two decisive objects, that the Most Christian King voluntarily offers to enter into a negotiation; the King of Great Britain, desiring to concur effectually with the favourable dispo-

dispositions of the Most Christian King, in order to remove all impediments which might defer the salutary object of peace, his Britannic Majesty declares that he is ready on his part to enter upon the proposed negotiation with speed and sincerity. And more authentically to demonstrate to what extent the sincerity of his conduct proceeds, his Britannic Majesty declares farther, that he should be glad to see some person at London sufficiently authorized by a power from the Most Christian King, to enter upon this subject with the British Ministers, in regard to the several articles contained in the Letter of the D. de Choiseul of the 26th of March 1761, to the Secretary of State of his Britannic Majesty, which points are so essentially interesting to the two powers.

By the order, and in the name of the King of Great Britain my Master.

Signed W. PITTS.

LETTER FROM THE D. DE CHOISEUL TO MR. PITTS.

SIR, *Versailles, 19th April, 1761.*

I made the King my Master acquainted with the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 8th instant, as well as with the Memorial thereto annexed.

His Majesty has remarked with real pleasure the conformity of his Britannic Majesty's sentiments with his own, in regard to the sincere and open conduct which it becomes two such great powers to observe in the negotiation of a peace.

The King has not delayed, Sir, the nomination of an Ambassador to represent him at the Congress at Augsburg. His Majesty has made choice of the Count de Choiseul, at present his Ambassador at Vienna, and he will repair to the town appointed, at the beginning of July, in the expectation which we entertain here, that his Britannic Majesty will send his Ambassador thither at the same time.

The King has commanded me, Sir, to observe on this occasion to your Excellency, in answer to the declaration contained in your letter, that his Majesty, as constant as any other power, in fulfilling the engagements he has made with the allies, with the most scrupulous punctuality, will continue, with that fidelity which is consistent with the integrity and dignity of his character, to make his cause common with theirs, whether in the negotiation for the peace of Germany, or in the continuance of the war, if to the misfortune of mankind, the favourable dispositions in which the Belligerent Powers are at present should not be attended with the success which is so earnestly desired.

I ought not, on this occasion, to omit informing your Excellency with what concern the King would see himself obliged to continue such a destructive war, after having entertained a confidence that all the parties were interested in putting a stop to the calamities it occasions.

As to what relates to the war in particular between France and England, I have annexed to this letter

a Memorial in reply to that of your Excellency. We cannot be too zealous in explaining the upright intentions of our Masters, in order to remove, at the beginning of this interesting negotiation, those misunderstandings which often augment, instead of lessening the delay.

You are a Minister, Sir, too enlightened not to approve of this principle.

I have the honour to be, with most distinguished regard, &c.

Signed Le Duc de CHOISEUL.

MEMORIAL OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY
OF THE 19TH APRIL, 1761.

THE Most Christian King perceives with satisfaction, that his Britannic Majesty agrees that the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between France and England is totally foreign from the disputes which have given rise to the war in Germany; it is in consequence of this principle that his Most Christian Majesty offered the King of England to treat concerning the preliminaries relative to the particular interests of the two Crowns; but in making that proposition, the King of France did not understand, as the beginning of the Memorial of London of the 8th of April seems to intimate, that the peace of Germany could take place, without the differences between France and England being adjusted.

justed. His Most Christian Majesty has sufficient confidence in his Allies to be certain that they will neither conclude a peace nor a treaty without his consent. He did not understand therefore, that the peace of Germany could be concluded distinctly from that of France and England, and he only proposed to the King of England to separate the discussion of the two wars, in order to bring about a general peace for all parties.

His Most Christian Majesty renews the proposition which he caused to be made in the first Memorial, that the two Powers should remain in *statu quo* with regard to their possessions and conquests according to the periods stated in the said Memorial; but his Majesty observes, that the basis of the proposition is necessarily connected with the epochas proposed; for it is easy to conceive that such events may happen on either side, as may absolutely prevent an acquiescence to the *uti possidetis*, if the epochas are distant; and his Most Christian Majesty has the more reason to recall the whole proposition, if the King of England does not acquiesce to the epochas annexed to it, since no one can doubt but that those periods were proposed at a time when they were not advantageous to France.

It is certain that the reciprocal conquests cannot be ascertained but on the day of signing the peace; but it is no less certain, that it is impossible to fix the basis of a negotiation for peace, otherwise than according

according to the situation in which the Belligerent parties stood at such or such a period of the war. This is the light in which the King of France understood the proposition which he made to the King of England; and it is upon this principle, if his Britannic Majesty adopts it, that his Most Christian Majesty will send a Minister to London with credentials, and charged with full power sufficient to treat with the Ministers of the King of Great Britain, either with respect to the ground of the dispute, or in regard to the compensations proper to be made to the two Crowns, as well as concerning the interests of their colonies and their commerce. The disposition of his Most Christian Majesty, to put an end to the miseries of war, which divides the two nations under their government, is equal to that of his Britannic Majesty; but as the zeal on both sides should be alike, at the same time that the Most Christian King shall send M. Buffy to London, he hopes that the King of Great Britain will send an English Minister to France, to treat concerning the same objects with his Ministry. His Most Christian Majesty expects the answer of his Britannic Majesty on the contents of this Memorial, in order to expedite and receive the reciprocal and necessary passports.

By the order and in the name of the King my Master.

Signed Le Duc de CHOISEUL.

MR. PITT'S LETTER TO THE DUKE DE CHOISEUL.

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, 28th April, 1761.

I HAVE laid before the King my master the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me the 19th of this month, as also the Memorial which was annexed to it.

His Majesty sincerely wishes to maintain an entire conformity of sentiments with his Most Christian Majesty, in relation to the uniform and direct method which it is proper to pursue in a Negotiation equally delicate and important.

The King understands, Sir, with pleasure, that his Most Christian Majesty has made choice of the Count de Choiseul to represent him at the Congress at Augsburg, and that that Ambassador will repair to the destined town at the beginning of July; and the King has charged me to inform your Excellency, that he has nominated the Earl of Egremont, Lord Viscount Stormont, and Sir Joseph York, to represent him at the said Congress, and that his Ambassadors will likewise repair to Augsburg at the beginning of July.

It becomes me, on this subject, to acquaint your Excellency, that the regret of the King my master would not be less than that of the Most Christian King, to see the war continued in Germany, which is destructive to so many nations.

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I annex to this letter a Memorial, in answer to that of your Excellency of the 19th instant, in relation to the war in particular between Great Britain and France. It is true, Sir, the principle of removing misunderstandings in business upon all occasions, cannot be too highly approved; therefore it cannot escape the observation of your Excellency, that at the beginning of an accommodation, unexpected alterations naturally have the effect of involving the overtures in obscurity and uncertainty, rather than of introducing that perspicuity and confidence, so indispensable in a Negotiation between two such great Powers. As the natural remedy against inconveniences of this nature seems to be the presence of reciprocal Ministers, who, treating by word of mouth, may give an explanation immediately on starting of a doubt; your Excellency will see by the Memorial hereto annexed, the disposition of his Majesty in this respect.

I have the honour to be, with the most distinguished regard, &c.

Signed W. PITTE.

THE MEMORIAL OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY,
OF THE 28th OF APRIL, 1761.

THE King of Great Britain, always influenced by the same desire of putting an end to the miseries of the war, which is unhappily kindled between Great Britain and France, has with pleasure concurred in every measure which tends to remove the ob-

stacles which impede so salutary a work.. It is with this view, that his Britannic Majesty will readily send Mr. Stanley to France, in the quality of his Minister, at the same time that the Most Christian King shall send Mr. Buffoy to London.

As to what remains, his Majesty does not find by the Memorial of the 26th of last month, made in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, that the ground of the proposition therein contained, concerning the reciprocal conquests, is necessarily connected with the periods proposed; quite on the contrary; it is expressly about those very periods that the Most Christian King offers to enter into a Negotiation. These are the express words: *Nevertheless, as his Majesty may think that the proposed periods of September, July, and May, may be either too near or too distant for the interests of the British Crown, or that his Britannic Majesty should think proper that compensation should be made for the whole or part of the reciprocal conquests of the two Crowns; upon these two points, the Most Christian King will readily enter into a Negotiation with his Britannic Majesty, when he shall be acquainted with his intentions.*

It was in consequence of an offer so clearly expressed, and not capable of misconstruction, that his Britannic Majesty resolved to declare, that he was ready on his part to enter, with speed and sincerity, upon the proposed Negotiation. The King of Great Britain, persevering in his intentions,

news

news his former declaration; and his Britannic Majesty, to leave no doubt with regard to his inclinations, has forwarded the passport hereto annexed, and will be glad to receive one immediately in return from the Court of France, that, by means of a treaty by word of mouth, as well with respect to the grounds of the dispute, as in relation to the epochs, as also in regard to the compensation which may be agreed on between the two Crowns, they may be better able on both sides to clear up doubts, and remove all ambiguities from the Negotiation, which, in order to be effectual, should be conducted on both sides with sincerity, precision, and expedition.

By the order, and in the name of the King, my master.

Signed W. PITT.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE DE CHOISEUL TO
MR. PITT.

SIR,

THE King, my Master, entirely adopts the principle advanced in the letter with which your Excellency honoured me on the 28th of last Month, as likewise in the Memorial thereto annexed, with respect to the necessity of dispatching respective Ministers, in order to elucidate a number of difficulties, which it is impossible to obviate by letters and memorials. I should nevertheless have been proud of the honour of negotiating so important an affair personally with your Excellency. No one has a

higher confidence than myself in the integrity and the uncommon talents which your Excellency possesses, and I do presume, that the intentions of the Kings, our Masters, being at once determined on peace, the sagacity of your Excellency, joined to my zeal for so precious a blessing, would have smoothed all difficulties; but as our employs necessarily keep us at a distance from a personal Negotiation, M. de Buffy, who is used to transact business with me, will supply, near your Excellency, the desire I have of concurring in the salutary views of peace, which seem to animate all the Belligerent powers. I entreat your excellency to grant him your favour, and I am certain that he will use his utmost endeavours to deserve it.

Your Excellency will see by my private letter, to which his Majesty's passports for Mr. Stanley are annexed, some precautionary arrangements, which I propose to be settled, in order to prevent the inconveniences which might arise on the first dispatch of of the respective Ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed Le Duc de CHOISEUL.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE DUKE DE CHOI-
SEUL TO MR. PITT, OF THE 4TH MAY,
1761.

I HAVE received the passport of the King of Great Britain, which your Excellency did me the honour

honour to send for M. Buffy, in the quality of Minister of the King, my Master; and I send you in return his Majesty's passport for Mr. Stanley, whom his Britannic Majesty has been pleased to appoint in order to come to this Court in the same capacity. I think it my duty, on this occasion, Sir, to make observations, which seem to me necessary to warrant the execution of the commissions of those two Ministers.

1. The King thinks, that his Britannic Majesty will judge it convenient that the two Ministers should be charged with full power from the respective Courts to use upon occasion.

2. That the two Ministers should each of them have Letters of Credence from the Kings, their Masters, which they shall deliver to the respective Secretaries of State only; that is to say, in France, to the Minister and Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs; and in England, to the Minister and Secretary of State for the Southern Department.

3. As his Majesty's intention is, that the English Minister shall enjoy the same privilege in France, as if the two Courts were in the midst of peace, as well with regard to the common intercourse of life, as in maintaining a correspondence with the Court of England and the other Courts of Europe; and lastly, for the dispatch of his couriers, and with respect to all the prerogatives and franchises in general incident

his character; his Majesty relies, that M. Buffy will absolutely enjoy the same rights, prerogatives, franchises, and liberties, at London; it being understood nevertheless, that when one or the other are about to dispatch their couriers to their own or any other Court, they shall be obliged to require a passport from the Secretary of State in that department, which shall not be refused to them, any more than the necessary vessel to transport their couriers from France to England, and from England to France.

4. We desire to know when Mr. Stanley will be ready to leave London in order to repair to Calais, in order to direct M. Buffy's journey, so that he may repair to Calais at the same time, to be transported to England in the same vessel which brings Mr. Stanley over, if that is agreeable to the Court of Great Britain: if not, the King will keep a vessel, in the Port of Calais, which shall transport M. Buffy to England, in which case it will be proper to know what kind of vessel his Britannic Majesty will chuse to bring Mr. Stanley to Calais.

I believe your Excellency will find these observations proper, and that you will send me your answer as soon as possible.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER TO THE DUKE DE CHOISEUL,
OF THE 11TH MAY, 1761.

SIR,

THE King my Master has learnt with real satisfaction, by the letter which your Excellency did

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me the honour to write of the 4th of this month, that the sentiments of the most Christian King are conformable to those of his Majesty with respect to the mutual dispatch of the Ministers from the two Courts.

I hope your Excellency will be persuaded, that I have a lively sense of the value of those obliging sentiments with which you have been pleased to honour me, and that, conscious as I am of your superior qualities, which have engaged the approbation of every Court, I perceive in its full extent how flattering a circumstance it would have been for me to have had the honour of treating personally with your Excellency upon so interesting an object, and to have shared with you, in point of zeal for the prosperous conduct of the Peace, the satisfaction of co-operating more immediately to give the people assurance of the effects of the salutary dispositions of the Kings our Masters. I shall nevertheless take real pleasure, upon all occasions, to pay the respect due to M. Buffys character, as well as to his merit; and I can assure you, Sir, that the happiness which that Minister has had, of being used to transact business with your Excellency, is an additional circumstance which cannot but interest me extremely in his behalf.

I am persuaded that Mr. Stanley, who is descended from an illustrious family, and who entertains noble sentiments, will use all his endeavours to merit the honour

honour of your Excellency's esteem, and he wishes to be recommended to your favour.

You will see, Sir, by my private letter, the reflections which have occurred in relation to the precautionary arrangements, which your Excellency proposed to settle, and I hope that no farther impediments will remain on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed W. PITT.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM MR. PITT TO THE DUKE
DE CHOISEUL, OF THE 11TH MAY, 1761.

SIR,

I HAVE received the three passports, which your Excellency has done me the honour to transmit for Mr. Stanley, in quality of Minister from the King my Master, and I in return transmit to you a second, which his Majesty has granted for the vessel which the Most Christian King shall think proper to order for transporting M. Buffy into England; and I annex the order to the Officers of the customs, for the free importation of the effects and baggage of the said Minister.

As to what relates, Sir, to the observations which you thought yourself obliged to make, to warrant the execution of the commission of those two ministers, it is with great satisfaction I assure your Excellency, that the King, in conformity with the sentiments of his Most Christian Majesty, is of opinion,

i. That

1. That the two ministers should be charged with ample power from the Kings their masters, to make use of as occasion shall offer.

2. That the two ministers ought, each of them to have letters of credence from their Majesties, which they shall not need to deliver but to the Secretaries of the respective states, in the manner specified by your Excellency.

3. It is the intention of his Majesty, that M. Buffy should absolutely enjoy in England, the same rights, prerogatives, and franchises, and liberties, as if the two Courts were in the midst of peace, and which Mr. Stanley, in pursuance of the intention of his Most Christian Majesty, is to enjoy in France; and as to the dispatch of couriers, as well as every thing else which concerns the two ministers, the tenor of the third article of observations relative to this head, shall be observed in every respect.

As to what remains, concerning the time of the departure of their crossing the sea, the King is of opinion, that in order to obviate all difficulties, Mr. Stanley and M. Buffy may respectively repair to Dover and Calais, to cross the sea each of them in a vessel appertaining to their own nation, which the Kings their Masters shall keep ready for that purpose in the two ports aforesaid. It is in confidence of this disposition, that I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency, that the King will dispatch Mr. Stanley from London, so that he may reach Dover on the

23d of this month, unless we learn that a time so near at hand should be inconvenient to the court of France; and the King, my Master relics, with full confidence, in M. Buffy's repairing to Calais on the aforesaid day, that the two ministers may cross the sea without delay, as far as the circumstances of wind and navigation will permit them. I will add to your Excellency, that Mr. Stanley will make use of a packet-boat from Dover, and that M. Buffy may cross from Calais to England in whatever vessel his Most Christian Majesty shall judge convenient.

I flatter myself that your Excellency will find that these arrangements will equally facilitate the method of the two ministers repairing to their reciprocal destinations without inconvenience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed W. PITT.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE BRITISH MINISTER, OR THE 17TH JUNE, 1761.

Mr. STANLEY having represented by his letter of the 8th of June, that the D. de Choiseul, in the course of their conferences, had agreed, *That the epochs must still remain a matter of negotiation, but that his Excellency nevertheless was of opinion, that in the present state of that affair, according to the natural and usual course of things, his Most Christian Majesty having already named the first of September, July, and May, his Britannic Majesty should proceed, either by accepting*

accepting of those days, or by naming others more agreeable to his intentions, which were probably regulated by preparations and designs of which the court of France was ignorant; that this method appeared to him more likely to expedite the business than the making of reiterated propositions on their part, which could only be grounded on mere conjecture. It is upon this footing, that, in order to make a return to the above invitation on the part of France, as well as in consequence of his Majesty's having accepted the proposition of the said court of the 26th March last, his Majesty offers to agree with the Most Christian King, that the first day of July, September and November following, shall respectively be the different periods or epochs, to fix the *Uti Possidetis* which France has proposed to make the basis of the treaty which may be negotiated between the two powers. All other conquests made beyond these periods shall be mutually restored. But as his Majesty is of opinion that epochs which have no reference to the actual signature of something obligatory between the two Crowns, must necessarily be only a vain illusion, void of use or reality; or that it might even happen that in the end they may prove the source of intricate disputes, and dangerous and captious altercations; and the King having no other view but to concur with the upright intentions of his Most Christian Majesty, in accelerating and confirming the blessings of peace to both nations, his Majesty only

only offers to agree to aforesaid epoch, on the two following conditions:

1. That every thing which shall be happily adjusted between the two crowns, in relation to their particular war, shall be made obligatory, final, and conclusive, independent of the negotiation at Augsburg, which is to compose and terminate the disputes of Germany, and to re-establish a general peace.
2. That the said definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France shall be concluded, signed and ratified, or preliminary articles to that end, between this and the first of August next.

The restitution of the prizes taken at sea, shall be regulated according to the respective terms which are usual for different parts of the globe; which terms are to be computed from the day of the signature of the said definitive treaty, or of preliminary articles of peace, in case a ratification ensues.

The King desiring farther to facilitate the salutary work of peace, as far as reason and justice will admit, declares moreover, that with regard to Belle-Isle, his Majesty will agree, in the said future treaty, to enter into compensation for that important conquest.

With regard to farther compensations for any part of the other conquests made by the crown of Great Britain, his Majesty reserves himself, till he shall learn what are the Most Christian King's desires in that respect, which when he shall know, his Majesty will open himself with perfect sincerity and good faith.

THE FRENCH MEMORIAL OF PROPOSITIONS,
15TH JULY, 1761.

THE negotiations of peace entered upon between France and England, have proved that the Sovereigns sincerely wish to re-establish that union and amity, so agreeable to humanity, between the two crowns; and the resolution in which the King concurs, in conjunction with his Britannic Majesty, to terminate by a precise and durable treaty, the differences which have occasioned the present war, has determined his Majesty, always maintaining the spirit and letter of the declaration of the 26th March last, in relation to the means of procuring peace, to explain more precisely by this memorial, the conditions, which appear to him most proper to accomplish the desirable end which influences him as well as the King of England.

But the King declares at the same time, that he entrusts this proposition with the King of Great Britain, that if it should not be accepted by his Britannic Majesty, or should not serve as a basis for the negotiation of the future peace, the Court of London shall in no circumstances take advantage of it, the said proposition made in confidence to the King of Great Britain having no other object than the accelerating of a negotiation in which the two crowns are so much interested.

The *Uti Poffidetis* expressed in the declaration of the 26th March, is adopted on both sides; it would
be

be difficult for either party to reject it; for though it was not expressed, it is properly according to what they possess only either lawfully or by conquest, that the parties can negotiate together concerning peace, and the compensations requisite for that purpose.

The periods of the *Statu Quo*, which form the second essential article in the declaration of the 26th March, and which have remained in negotiation between the two Courts, have not yet been settled.

The Court of France has proposed the epochs of May, July and September; that of England has proposed the epochs of July, September and November. That question will be determined without farther negotiation, if the scheme of the following treaty is adopted by the Court of London, for then all the epochs will be valid, as that of the peace will unite the sentiments and opinions of the two Kings.

It is the compensations therefore which will determine the epochs and the peace, and it is to settle them that his Majesty proposes the following articles to the King of Great Britain.

ARTICLE I. The King cedes and guaranties Canada to the King of England, such as it has been and in right ought to be possessed by France, without restriction, and without the liberty of returning upon any pretence whatever against this cession and guarantee,

finity, and without interrupting the crown of England in the entire possession of Canada.

ART. II. The King in making over his full right of sovereignty over Canada to the King of England, annexes four conditions to the cession: First, that the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall be maintained there, and that the King of England will give the most precise and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may, as heretofore, make public profession of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman Church.

Secondly, That the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the King in Canada, may retire into the French colonies with all possible freedom and security; that they may be allowed to sell their effects, and to transport their property as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration; on any pretence whatever (except for debt;) and the English government shall engage to procure them the means of transportation at as little expence as possible.

Thirdly, That the limits of Canada, with regard to Louisiana, shall be clearly and firmly established, as well as those of Louisiana and Virginia, in such manner, that after the execution of peace, there may be no more difficulties between the two nations, with respect to Canada, or the other possessions of England.

[M. Buffy has a memorial on the subject of the limits of Louisiana, which gives him power to come

to a final treaty on that article with the ministry of his Britannic Majesty.]

Fourthly, That the liberty of fishing, and of drying their cod-fish on the banks of Newfoundland, may be confirmed to the French as heretofore : and as this confirmation would be illusory, if the French vessels had not a shelter in those parts appertaining to their nation, the King of Great Britain, in consideration of the guaranty of his new conquests, shall restore Isle Royal, or Cape Breton, to be enjoyed by France in entire sovereignty. It is agreed, to fix a value on this restitution, that France shall not, under any denomination whatever, erect any fortifications on the island, and shall not confine herself to maintain civil establishment there, and the port for the convenience of the fishing vessels landing there.

ART. III. France shall restore to England the island of Minorca, and Fort St. Philip, in the same condition it was in when conquered by the King's forces, together with the artillery belonging to England, which was in the fort at the time of taking the island.

ART. IV. In consideration of this restitution, England, in her turn, shall restore to France the island of Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and those two islands shall be ceded in the same condition they were in at the time they were conquered by the arms of England.

ART.

ART. V. The islands called neuter, are Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tabago. The two first are occupied by the Caribees, under the protection of France; according to the treaty of 1660: they shall remain in the condition they have been since that treaty.

The Crown of England has not yet shewn any title; which gives them a right over the two last; nevertheless; it shall be a matter of negotiation between the two Crowns, either that the four islands shall remain absolutely neuter; or that the two possessed by the Caribees alone shall be declared neuter; and that England shall enter into possession, as sovereign, over the island of Tabago; in the same manner as France over that of St. Lucia; saving, at all times, the right of a third person; with whom the two crowns will explain themselves, if such a right exists.

ART. VI. It would be advantageous for the companies of the two nations in the East-Indies, to abstain for ever from all military views and conquests, to restrain themselves, and mutually to assist each other in the business of commerce, which more properly belongs to them. The precise situation in which the two nations stand, is not known in France; wherefore the King, in order to confine himself, in that respect, to the object most useful, both for the present and hereafter, to the two companies, proposes to the King of England the treaty concluded

between Sieurs Godeheu and Saunders, as a basis for the re-establishment of the peace of Asia.

ART. VII. The colonies of South America, in possession of the French, necessarily require negroes to cultivate them; the French settlements of Senegal and Goree supplied the wants of the French colonies in this respect. England, in keeping those settlements, would prejudice France, without procuring any positive advantages for herself; and the union which the two Sovereigns so sincerely wish to establish between the two crowns, leaves no room to suppose that the court of London has any such intentions of mischief. Nevertheless, France, with a view to the blessings of peace, offers England the choice of the possessions of Senegal or Goree, meaning that one or the other possession shall be restored and guaranteed to the King by his Britannic Majesty.

ART. VIII. The island of Belle-Isle and the fortress conquered by the arms of England, shall be restored to France, together with the artillery therein at the time of conquest.

ART. IX. In consideration of the 8th article to be granted by England, the King will cause his forces in Germany to evacuate the Landgraviate of Hesse, the county of Hanau, as well as the town, which shall not be occupied by the troops of either power, leaving the navigation of the Maine free, and those parts of the Electorate of Hanover occupied by the

French

French troops; and these evacuations shall be preceded by a suspension of arms between the two crowns, which suspension of arms shall take place from the day of the ratification of the preliminaries, or the article of the definitive treaty, not only in Germany, but in all parts of the World where France and England are at war.

ART. X. As the King is under an engagement with the Empress Queen, to stipulate nothing in his treaty of peace with England which may be disadvantageous to her Imperial Majesty, and as it was foreseen that, in case of a suspension between the French and British forces, the German troops in the pay of England might join those of the King of Prussia against the Austrian Armies, the King, faithful to his engagements with his allies, and very far from intending to settle any thing to her prejudice, proposes to the King of England, that it may be agreed between them, that his Britannic Majesty will undertake that no part of the forces which compose Prince Ferdinand's army of his Prussian Majesty, or act offensively against the Empress Queen or her allies; and in like manner, no French forces, under any pretence, shall join the Imperial army, or serve against the allies of Great Britain. To ascertain these positions, it shall be farther concluded, that after these evacuations, the army of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Marshal Broglie, shall retire towards the Maine, the Necker, and the Rhine,

occupying Franckfort; and that of the Lower Rhine, commanded by Marshal Soubise, shall, on the other side, retire towards the Rhine, occupying Wesel and Guelders.

The countries belonging to the King of Prussia, on the Lower Rhine, have been conquered, and are actually governed in the name of the Empress Queen; the King would not undertake to evacuate them without the consent of her Imperial Majesty, and before the success of the Negotiations at the Congress at Augsburg, which is to restore Peace between the Empress and the King of Prussia; but as it would be disadvantageous to the two Crowns to maintain a considerable body of national forces in Germany, which, in time of peace, would remain in absolute inactivity, and, by the Conventions of the Treaty, would become useless in every respect to the Allies of France and England, the King undertakes, that, from the time that his Britannic Majesty do recal the English whom he has sent to his army in Germany, he will cause double the number of French forces in his Majesty's army on the Upper and Lower Rhine to return to France, so that no French troops shall continue in those parts, but in proportion to those which the King of England shall keep in pay.

ART. XI. If before the execution of the treaty, one of the two powers should make any conquests, in whatever part of the world it be, they shall be restored

stored without hesitation, and without requiring any recompense.

ART. XII. The captures made at sea by England before the declaration of the war, are objects of legal restitution, and which the King will willingly submit to the justice of the King of England and the English tribunals; in fact, subjects; who under the faith of treaties, the law of nations, and in time of peace, follow their trade and navigation, cannot without justice become sufferers by the misunderstandings subsisting in the cabinets of the two Courts, before they have any intimation of it. Declarations of war are established by the law of nations, for no other purpose but to make public to the people the contests between their sovereigns, and to give them warning, that their persons and fortunes are in danger of an enemy. Unless such declaration is agreed upon, there can be no public security; every individual would be in danger, or in fear, every moment that he stepped beyond the limits of his own country. If these principles are incontestible, nothing remains but to examine the date of the declaration of war, between the two crowns, and the date of the captures; all that has been taken prior to the declaration, cannot be adjudged lawful prize, without overthrowing the most salutary laws; it will be in vain to alledge that the French began hostilities, and that the captures were taken by way of reprizal. What connection can there be between

supposed hostilities offered at Fort Duquesne, and the capture of trading vessels in the south part of America? These hostilities are the motives for the declaration of war; but the effects of that declaration is made public; and it would be unjust to make individuals sustain a loss, who are totally ignorant of the facts and circumstances of a latent hostility in a corner of the world which has occasioned a general war between the two nations.

This argument is deemed unanswerable in France; and it is on this footing that the king challenges the right of nations, to the end that some expedient may be agreed upon in the future treaty as a recompence for the captures made upon his subjects previous to the declaration of war, without entering into any discussion about reprisals, which should be forgotten when the two Courts draw near to an agreement. France consults nothing but the interest of the individuals who have been sufferers, and does not pretend to include the King's ships taken before the declaration in the settlement of the captures, as the loss of King's ships may be considered as a consequence of the motives of the war.. .

ART. XIII. Though, during the course of the present war, the article of former tréaties which guaranty the succession to the throne of Great Britain, according to the present establishment, has not been infringed, nevertheless the King is well disposed to comprise that guaranty in the future treaty, if the King of England, desires it.

ART.

ART. XIV. The prisoners made on each side, as well by sea as land, shall be set at liberty, and sent home without ransom, immediately on the ratification of the peace.

His Britannic Majesty will readily perceive, that these articles are not drawn in the form of a treaty; they are only offered to him as articles explained in their full extent, which elucidate the sentiments of France, and put the two crowns in a condition to treat upon certain and distinct objects.

THE PRIVATE MEMORIAL OF FRANCE, OF 15TH
JULY, 1761, RELATING TO SPAIN.

[This is the private memorial referred to, in the third note to Chap. XX.]

AS it is essential, and agreeable to the desire of France and England, that the projected Treaty of Peace should serve as a basis for a solid reconciliation between the two Crowns, which may not be liable to be interrupted by the interests of a third Power, and the engagements which either one or the other may have entered into previous to their reconciliation, he proposes that the King of Spain shall be invited to guaranty the future Treaty of Peace between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain. This Guaranty will obviate all present and future inconveniences with regard to the solidity of the Peace.

The King will not disguise from his Majesty, that the differences of Spain with England fill him with apprehensions,

apprehensions, and give him room to fear, that, if they are not adjusted, they will occasion a fresh war in Europe and America. The King of Spain has communicated to his Majesty the three articles which remain to be discussed between his Crown and the Crown of Britain ; which are,

1. The restitution of some captures which have been made during the present war upon the Spanish Flag.
2. The privilege for the Spanish nation to fish upon the Banks of Newfoundland.
3. The demolition of the English settlements made upon the Spanish territories in the Bay of Honduras.

These three articles may be easily adjusted agreeable to the equity of the two nations ; and the King earnestly wishes, that some accommodations may be thought on, to the satisfaction of the Spanish and English nations, with regard to these articles ; but he cannot disguise from England the danger he apprehends, and of which he must necessarily partake, if these objects, which seem nearly to concern his Catholic Majesty, should be the occasion of a War. His Majesty therefore deems it a principal point of consideration in concluding a firm and advantageous Peace, that, at the same time that desirable point shall be concluded between France and England, his Britannic Majesty should terminate his differences with Spain, and agree to invite his Catholic Majesty to guaranty the Treaty which is to reconcile

(pray

(pray Heaven for ever) his Majesty and the King of England.

As to what remain, his Majesty does not intimate his apprehension in this respect to the Court of London, but with the most sincere and upright intentions to obviate every impediment which may arise hereafter to disturb the union of the French and English nations; and he desires his Britannic Majesty, whom he supposes influenced by the same good wishes, freely to communicate his sentiments on so essential an object.

MR. BUSSY'S NOTE TO MR. PITT.

SINCE the Memorial of the propositions from France was formed, and at the instant that the courier was ready to set out for London, the King received the consent of the Empress Queen to separate peace with England, but upon two conditions:

1. To keep possession of the countries belonging to the King of Prussia.

2. That it shall be stipulated, that the King of Great Britain, neither in his capacity of King or Elector, shall afford any succour, either in troops, or of any kind whatever, to the King of Prussia; and that his Britannic Majesty will undertake that the Hanoverian, Hessian, Brunswickian, and other Auxiliaries in alliance with Hanover, shall not join the forces of the King of Prussia, in like manner as France shall engage, on her part, not to yield succour

cour of any kind to the Empress Queen nor her Allies,

Both these conditions appear so natural and equitable in themselves, that his Majesty could not do otherwise than acquiesce in them, and he hopes that the King of Great Britain will be ready to adopt them.

MR. PITT'S LETTER TO MR. BUSSY, 24TH JULY,
1761.

SIR,

HAVING explained myself, in our conference yesterday, with respect to certain engagements of France with Spain, relative to the disputes of the latter crown with Great Britain, of which your Court never informed us, but at the very instant of making, as she has done, her first propositions for the separate peace of the two crowns; and as you have desired, for the sake of greater punctuality, to take a note of what passed between us upon so weighty a subject, I here repeat, Sir, by his Majesty's order, the same declaration, word for word, which I made to you yesterday, and again anticipate you with respect to the most sincere sentiments of friendship and real regard on the part of his Majesty towards the Catholic King, in every particular consistent with reason and justice. It is my duty to declare farther to you in plain terms, in the name of his Majesty, that he will not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns: to which I must add, that it will be considered as an affront to his

his Majesty's dignity, and as a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation, to make farther mention of such a circumstance.

Moreover, it is expected that France WILL NOT, at any time, PRESUME a right of intermeddling in such disputes between Great Britain and Spain.

These Considerations, so just and indispensable, have determined his Majesty to order me to return you the memorial which occasions this, as wholly inadmissible.

I likewise return you, Sir, as totally inadmissible, the memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt upon the honour of Great Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfill his engagements with his allies.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed W. PITT.

THE ANSWER OF THE BRITISH COURT TO
MEMORIAL OF THE FRENCH PROPOSITIONS, 29TH
JULY, 1761.

HIS Britannic Majesty will never recede from the entire and total cession on the part of France, without any new limits, or any exceptions whatever, of all Canada and its appurtenances; and his Majesty will never relax, with regard to the full and complete cession on the Part of France, the Isle of Cape Breton, and of all the other Islands in the Gulph or in the River St. Lawrence, with the right of

of fishing, which is inseparably incident to the possession of the aforesaid Coasts, and of the Canals or Streights which lead to them.

2. With respect to fixing the limits of Louisiana; with regard to Canada, or the English possessions situate on the Ohio, as also on the coast of Virginia, it can never be allowed that whatever does not belong to Canada shall appertain to Louisiana, nor that the boundaries of the last province should extend to Virginia, or to the British possessions on the borders of the Ohio; the nations and countries which lie intermediate, and which form the true barrier between the aforesaid provinces, not being proper, on any account, to be directly or by necessary consequence ceded to France, even admitting them to be included in the limits of Louisiana.

3. Senegal with all its rights and dependencies upon the river which bears its name, shall be ceded to Great Britain in the most full and ample manner; as also the Island of Goree, so essentially connected with Senegal.

4. Dunkirk shall be reduced to the condition in which it ought to have been after the treaty of Utrecht, without which no peace can be concluded; and upon that condition only can his Majesty ever consent to enter on the consideration of the demand which France has made, viz. The restitution of the privilege granted by the thirteenth article of the said treaty, with certain limitations and under certain

certain restrictions, for the subjects of France to Fish and dry their fish on part of the banks of Newfoundland.

5. Though the titles by which the kingdom of Great Britain has, on many occasions, maintained its right to the Islands of St. Lucia and Tabago, have never been refuted; and though his Majesty by force of arms has acquired possession of St. Dominica, and of the French colony established before the commencement of the war; nevertheless his Majesty, from that principle of moderation which is so becoming to kings, will consent to an equal partition of the four Islands, commonly called the Neutral Islands, which partition shall be regulated in the ensuing treaty.

6. The Island of Minorca shall be immediately restored in the condition it was at the time of its being taken, together with the artillery, &c. appertaining to that Island.

7. France shall immediately restore and evacuate the conquests she has made over his Majesty's Allies, in Germany; that is to say, of all the states and countries appertaining to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Electorate of Hanover, as also of Wesel, and of all the places and territories belonging to the King of Prussia, in possession of the arms of France. In a word, France shall make a general evacuation of all her conquests, on the side of Hesse, Westphalia, and its countries.

8. The King of Great Britain on his part, agrees to surrender to his Most Christian Majesty. 1. The important conquest of Belle-Isle. 2. His Majesty likewise consents to surrender to the most Christian King the opulent island of Guadaloupe; with that of Marigalante.

9. The treaty concluded between Messrs. Saunders and Godeheu, cannot be admitted as the basis of the re-establishment of the peace in Asia, because that provisional treaty has had no consequences, and because those provisions are by no means applicable to the present state of affairs in the Indies, by the final reduction of the possessions and settlements of the French company in the East Indies; but as the perfect and final settlement with regard to that country can only be made in conformity to certain rights absolutely appertaining to the English company, and as the King cannot justly dispose of their rights without their consent, it must necessarily be left to the companies of the two nations to adjust the terms of accommodation and reconciliation, according to those rules of reason and justice, which the state and circumstances of their affairs may require, and mutually point out; provided nevertheless that those conditions are not repugnant to the designs and equitable intentions of their Sovereigns for the peace and reconciliation of the two crowns.

10. The demand of the restitution of the captures at sea before the declaration of war cannot be

be admitted; such a claim not being founded on any particular convention, and by no means resulting from the law of nations, as there is no principle more contestable than this, viz. that the absolute right of all hostile operations does not result from a formal declaration of war, but from the hostilities which the aggressor has first offered.

11. As the indispensable care which is due from his Majesty to his people, and the just and invincible motives which concern the preservation and security of his kingdoms, authorized by the most formal stipulations of solemn treaties (viz. those of Radstadt and the Barriere) and even by the express and irrevocable conditions of the cession of the Low Countries; will not allow France to retain possession of Ostend and Newport, the two places aforesaid shall be evacuated without delay, by the French garrisons; it is for this reason declared that the restitutions spoken of in the preceding articles of this memorial, and particularly the convention which is to be framed and regulated with respect to the Indies, cannot take place till the aforesaid evacuation of Ostend and Newport shall be faithfully executed.

12. The cessation of arms between the two crowns shall be fixed and take place on the day of the ratification of the preliminaries, or of the definitive treaty, and all the articles relative to the cessation of hostilities, shall be settled and take place, according

to common usage in such cases, and as the circumstances in different parts of the world shall require.

13. His Majesty having, from the first overtures made on the part of France, declared, that in case the separate peace between the two crowns should be concluded, his Majesty would continue as an auxiliary, faithfully to assist the King of Prussia, with efficacy and good faith, in order to accomplish the salutary purpose of a general pacification in Germany; it shall be free to Great Britain and France, to support, as auxiliaries, their respective allies, in their particular contests for the recovery of Silesia, pursuant to the respective engagements which those crowns have entered into.

14. The prisoners taken on one side and the other, both by sea and land, shall be released in the usual manner, saving the terms which may exist, by virtue of some cartel or some convention, which may have relation to this particular.

These articles are not digested into the form, nor in the detail of articles of peace: but it is hoped, that, with regard to essential points, this memorial has that precision and perspicuity which leaves nothing doubtful, and which evidently demonstrates the sincerity and perseverance of his Majesty's disposition, with respect to his intentions and resolutions for the accomplishment of so great a blessing as that of an entire peace between the two crowns.

ULTIMATUM OF FRANCE IN REPLY TO THAT OF
ENGLAND, OF 5TH OF AUGUST, 1761.

THE King renews the declaration which he made to his Britannic Majesty; to the memorial of propositions for peace, which has been transmitted to Mr. Stanley; and to which the Court of England has given no answer; either by word of mouth or in writing: his Majesty again declares, that if the negotiation entered into at Paris and at London, for the re-establishment of peace between the two crowns, has not the desired success, all the articles agreed to in that negotiation by France, cannot be represented; on any occasion, as settled points, any more than the memorial of the month of March last, relative to the *Uti Possidetis*.

1. The King consents to cede Canada to England in the most extensive manner as specified in the memorial of propositions; but his Majesty will not recede from the conditions he has annexed to the same memorial relative to the Catholic Religion, and to the power, facility, and liberty of emigration for the ancient subjects of the King. With regard to the fishery in the Gulph of St. Laurence, the King means to maintain the immemorial right which his subjects have of fishing in the said gulph, and of drying their fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, as it was agreed by the treaty of Utrecht. As this privilege would be granted, in vain, if the French

vessels had not some shelter appertaining to France in the gulph, his Majesty proposed to the King of Great Britain the restitution of the island of Cape Breton; he again proposes, either that island, or St. John, or such other port, without fortification, in the gulph, or within reach of the gulph, which may serve the French as a shelter, and secure to France the liberty of fishing, from whence his Majesty has no intention to recede.

2. The King has in no part of his memorial of propositions, affirmed, that all which did not belong to Canada, appertained to Louisiana; it is even difficult to conceive such an assertion could be advanced. France, on the contrary, demands that the intermediate nations between Canada and Louisiana, as also between Virginia and Louisiana, shall be considered as neutral nations, independent of the sovereignty of the two crowns, and serve as a barrier between them. If the English Minister would have attended to the instructions of Mr. Buffoy on this subject, he would have seen that France agreed with England as to this proposition.

3. No answer has been given by England to the plain argument, That if Senegal cannot be enjoyed in security without Goree, England will make no great sacrifice in keeping Goree, and restoring Senegal to France. Upon this article, Mr. Stanley has acquainted the D^r. de Choiseul, that some expedients may be agreed on between the two crowns: in consequence

sequence of which, his Majesty, out of regard to the blessing of peace, has authorised Mr. Buffoy to treat concerning these expedients with the British Ministry.

4. The court of London, when they mean to secure, in pursuance of his Majesty's consent, the conquests they pretend to maintain, readily rely on the memorial of *Uti Possidetis*; but they take no notice of that memorial when they advance claims at the expence of France. It cannot be denied, but that the state of the town of Dunkirk is not included in the *Uti Possidetis*.

According to the treaty of Utrecht, the demolition of Dunkirk was not assented to, as a compensation for the liberty of drying codfish on the Banks of Newfoundland; it is the cession of Newfoundland, on the part of France, which is the ground of that compensation: but the King, to testify to all Europe his sincere desire of peace, and to remove all obstacles which the enemies to peace may throw in the way, authorises his Minister at London to negotiate concerning the state of Dunkirk, so soon as a convenient port shall be agreed upon in the Gulph of St. Laurence, or within reach of the gulph, which shall be ceded to France, to serve as a shelter for her fishing vessels.

5. France has refuted the title of England to the Antiles, which are pretended to be neutral: his Majesty, nevertheless, from a principle of moderation, accepts of a partition of the said islands; but

such partition cannot take place but in the form specified in the first memorial of the French propositions.

6. It seems as if England, by her propositions, offered the Island of Belleisle as a compensation for the island of Minorca; as France does not allow the importance of the conquest of Belleisle, the two courts will retain their several opinions; England shall maintain her conquest, and France shall keep Minorca.

7. France is willing to evacuate, in consideration of the restitution to be made by England of the island of Guadaloupe and of Marigalante, the countries belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Electorate of Hanover, which are or shall be occupied by his Majesty's forces, and of which the conquest is connected with the British war, since the rupture of the capitulation of Closter Seven, and which may be separated from the war of the Empress-Queen with the King of Prussia.

But as to what concerns Wesel, Gueldres, and other countries in Westphalia belonging to the King of Prussia, which are actually in the possession of the Empress-Queen, and where justice is administered in the name of her Imperial Majesty, the King cannot stipulate to surrender the conquests of his allies; and such an evacuation, neither in fact nor by right, can take place without the consent of the Empress-Queen at the Congress at Augsburg; that

that congress being to assemble, in order to terminate the differences which have arisen in the empire, and particularly those which have occasioned the war between her Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia.

8. The King accepts of these conditions ; and in consideration of the cessions made by France, in North America and Africa, as well as in regard to the settlement of Dunkirk, the restitution of the island of Guadaloupe and of Marigalante.

9. The French East India Company have fulfilled the conditions of the treaty made between Messrs. Godeheu and Saunders : that of England has not observed the same punctuality. However that may be, the King is willing to acquiesce in the 9th Article of the *Ultimatum* of England, in relation to Asia.

10. The King persists, with regard to the captures made before the war, in the contents of the 12th Article of the first propositions. M. Buffy is authorised to deliver a memorial expressly on this subject ; and every one is persuaded in France, that this object neither can nor ought to break off the negotiation between the two crowns.

11. The Empress-Queen enjoys full sovereignty in the towns of Ostend and Newport ; the King has only lent his forces to his ally, to secure those places. England has no right to impose laws upon the King and the Empress, contrary to the will of the King

and her Imperial Majesty, who do not in the least violate the treaties of the House of Austria with the States General. As to what remains, his Majesty readily declares, that his intention never was to keep possession of the said places after the establishment of peace.

12. The 12th Article of the *Ullimatum* of England does not seem liable to any difficulties, while the terms of the intended suspension shall be observed and maintained with sincerity.

13. In answer to the declaration made by Mr. Stanley, that in case of a separate peace between France and England, his Britannic Majesty would constantly continue, in the capacity of an auxiliary, to aid his ally, the King of Prussia, with all his power, and with the utmost integrity, in order to accomplish the happy issue of the war, and the pacification of Germany, the D. de Choiseul, in the name of the King, his master, has declared to Mr. Stanley, that his Majesty, with the same view to the general pacification, will also support his faithful allies with all his forces, and to the utmost of his power, and will take every precaution which his approved sincerity and integrity shall suggest to him, in order to prevent the separate peace of France with England from being prejudicial to them.

It is in consequence of these sentiments, that the King, with the consent of his allies, is willing to stipulate, that he will grant no succour of any kind

to his allies for the continuance of their war against the King of Prussia; but his Majesty neither can nor will enter into such an engagement, unless his Britannic Majesty will enter into the like agreement with respect to the King of Prussia.

The proposition of leaving France at liberty to send forces into Silesia, is unfavourable, from particular circumstances, to the interests of the Empress, and consequently inadmissible.

The King, therefore, persists in the propositions contained in the 10th Article of his first memorial. All that can be negotiated with respect to these points, must be the liberty of affording succours in money to the respective allies, so soon as it shall be positively ascertained, that no power shall be at liberty to furnish them any supplies of men, or warlike stores, under any denomination whatever.

14. The King accepts the 14th Article of the *Ultimatum* of England.

It is hoped that the court of Great Britain will allow the precision of the answers to their *Ultimatum*, as well as the readiness with which the King endeavours, even to his prejudice, to use all means to bring about a reconciliation with the King of Great Britain.

When M. Buffy presented this *Ultimatum*, he accompanied it with the following Letter, in answer to that of Mr. Pitt, of the 24th of July.

MR.

MR. BUSSY'S LETTER TO MR. PITT, 5TH AUGUST, 1761.

SIR,

I HAVE acquainted my court with the letter of the 24th of last month, with which your Excellency honoured me, on returning the memorial I laid before you, in relation to the interests of the court of Spain with respect to England, and the note which I thought it my duty to communicate, with regard to the intention of the King my master, concerning the necessary steps to put a stop to the hostilities in Germany.

The King, Sir, orders me to acquaint your Excellency, that as to what relates to the interest of the Catholic King, his Majesty's precaution, expressed in the memorial which I remitted to you, is in consequence of that sincerity which he professes constantly to adopt in the course of all his negotiations. The memorial which your Excellency has returned me, neither contains any menaces, nor any offer of mediation. No other sentiment can be inferred from it, than that of the sincere desire which his Majesty entertains, that the projected peace between France and England may be firm and durable. Moreover, the King refers himself to his Catholic Majesty concerning the manner in which this memorial was received and remitted; but his Majesty has charged me to declare to your Excellency, that

that so long as Spain shall approve of it, his Majesty WILL interfere with the interests of that crown, without desisting on account of a repulse from the power who opposes his good offices.

With respect to the matter of the note, likewise returned by your Excellency, and which relates to the two necessary conditions of the proposed expedient for evacuating the countries subdued by his Majesty's arms, his Majesty explains himself fully on that Article in the *Ultimatum*, in answer to that of the court of London. His Majesty has ordered me to declare further to you in writing, that he will rather sacrifice the power which God has given him, than conclude any thing with his enemies, which may be contrary to the engagements he has contracted, and that good faith in which he glories. If England will undertake to yield no succour to the King of Prussia, the King will engage, on the other hand, to afford none to his allies in Germany. But his Majesty will not adopt the liberty of succouring his allies with a supply of men, because he is sensible of the disadvantage which the present situation of the armies might occasion to the Empress-Queen. His Majesty may stipulate not to act for the benefit of his allies, but he neither can nor will consent to any condition which may be detrimental to them.

It remains for me to observe to your Excellency, how greatly my court was astonished, as well at the style of the letter you wrote to me, as at the

Ultimatum

Ultimatum of England. This style, which is so little conformable to the propositions of France, betrays the aversion of the court of London to peace. The King, who is very far from insisting on forms, when the happiness of Europe is at stake, has used every endeavour, in the answer to the *Ultimatum*, which, without injury to the honour of his crown, were judged most effectual to recall the British court to sentiments of pacification; your Excellency will judge, from the *Ultimatum* of France, that I am ordered to acquaint you with what facility the King, forgetting the imperative style, so unfit for negotiation, which England makes use of in her answers, enters into the views of the British court, and endeavours, by the sacrifices he makes, to engage them to adopt the stipulations of a reasonable peace.

If your Excellency is desirous of having a conference with me on the subject of the *Ultimatum*, I will attend your commands, and I shall be very earnest to testify the disposition of my court, to make a happy issue of the negotiation on foot, as also the peculiar regard with which, &c,

(Signed) DE BUSSY.

NOTE DELIVERED BY THE COUNT DE FUENTES,
THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON, TO
MR. PITT.

THE Most Christian King, who wishes to make the peace, concerning which he proposed to treat with

with England, at once effectual and durable, entrusted his intentions with the King my master, expressing the pleasure with which he embraced that opportunity of acknowledging his sense of the reiterated offers which his Catholic Majesty had made both to Him and England, in order to facilitate a just and lasting reconciliation.

It is from these principles of sincerity, that the Most Christian King proposed to the King my master the guaranty of the treaty of peace, as a measure which might be equally convenient to France and England, and at the same time assured him of his sincere intentions with respect to the sacrifices he proposed to make, in order to restore tranquillity to Europe, by an honourable and lasting peace.

Such a proceeding of his Most Christian Majesty could not but be highly acceptable to the King my master, who found it agreeable to his own sentiments, and to his desire of fulfilling on his part, with the most distinguished conformity, all the connections which unite them both by ties of blood and their mutual interest; and moreover, he perceived in the disposition of the King of France, that magnanimity and humanity which are natural to him, by his endeavours, on his side, to render the peace as permanent as the vicissitudes of human affairs will admit of.

It is with the same candour and sincerity, that the King my master expressed in confidence to the Most Christian

Christian King, that he wished his Britannic Majesty had not made a difficulty of settling the guarantee, on account of the grievances of Spain with England, as he has all the reason to conclude that his Britannic Majesty has the same good intentions to terminate them amicably, according to reason and justice.

The confidence which the King my master reposed in France, gave that court room to testify to his Britannic Majesty the sincerity of their intentions for the re-establishment of peace, since, by proposing the guaranty of Spain, they expressed their sincere desire of seeing the interests of Spain settled at the same time, which might one day re-kindle the flames of a new war, which at present they wish to extinguish.

If the intentions of the Most Christian King and the King my master did not seem fraught with sincerity, the King my master flatters himself, that his Britannic Majesty will do him the justice to consider his in that light, since, if they were founded on any other principle, his Catholic Majesty, giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his dignity.

I must not omit to inform you, that the King my master will learn with surprise, that the memorial of France could raise a sentiment in the breast of his Britannic Majesty, entirely opposite to the intentions of the two sovereigns.

But

But his Catholic Majesty will always be pleased, whenever he sees that they make that progress which he has ever desired, in the negotiation of peace, whether it be separate between France and England, or general; as his sincere wishes are to make it perpetual, by obviating every source which might hereafter unhappily renew the war.

For this reason, the King my master flatters himself, that his Britannic Majesty, animated with the same sentiments of humanity towards the public tranquillity, will express the same intentions of terminating the disputes of England with a power which has afforded such reiterated proofs of her friendship, at the same time that it is proposed to restore peace to all Europe in general.

MEMORIAL CONCERNING THE VESSELS TAKEN BEFORE THE WAR.

THE reclaim of the captures made by the English before the declaration of war, is founded on the treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle.

It is not necessary to contest the principle, that the right of exercising hostilities does not always result from the formality of a declaration of war; but as it is impracticable for two princes, who make war on each other, to agree between them which is the aggressor with regard to the other, equity and humanity have dictated these precautions, that where an unforeseen rupture happens suddenly, and without any previous declaration, foreign vessels, which, navigating

navigating under the security of peace and of treaties, happen at the time of the rupture to be in either of the respective ports, shall have time and full liberty to withdraw themselves.

This wise provision, so agreeable to the rules of good faith, constitutes a part of the law of nations, and the article of the treaty which sanctifies these precautions ought to be faithfully executed, notwithstanding the breach of the other articles of the treaty, which is the natural consequence of the war.

The courts of France and Great Britain used this salutary precaution in the treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle; in the first, by the nineteenth article of the treaty of peace, and in the second of the treaty of commerce: in the second, by the third article, which renews and confirms the first.

If these treaties allow a protection to the respective subjects who may have ships in the ports of either of the powers, because, having no opportunity of knowing that a rupture has fallen out, they sailed under the security of peace, and under the faith of treaties; by a parity of reason, all the other subjects who are not inhabitants of the respective ports, who have ships at sea, should enjoy the same security for their vessels, in whatever part of the sea they should be sailing, otherwise it would follow, that the sovereigns provide for the preservation of one part of their subjects from the miseries of a sudden rupture, to which they expose the rest, which is absolutely repugnant

pugnant to the humanity of sovereigns, and contrary to right reason.

It is upon this principle, that the King of France restored to England the English vessels which were found in the ports of France; at the time of the rupture, or taken at sea before the declaration of war.

If his Majesty had not caused those vessels to be restored, his Britannic Majesty might have alledged, that he retained the French vessels by way of reprisals; but the punctuality of France in conforming to the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la Chapelle, and to the principles resulting from thence, give England no pretence for refusing to fulfil engagements which are reciprocal.

The court of France, therefore, does not doubt but that the court of England will agree to order the restitution of the ships taken by the English from the French, before the declaration of the war.

MR. PITT'S LAST LETTER TO M. BUSSY, DATED
THE 15TH OF AUGUST, 1761.

SIR,

I MADE the King my master acquainted with the memorial, which, by order of his most Christian Majesty, you accompanied the *Ultimatum* of the court of France: his Majesty perceives from these two pieces, with that regret with which the love of peace inspires him, that the happy moment to put an end to so many miseries is not yet come.

As to what relates to the style of the *Ultimatum* of England, in answer to the memorial of propositions from France, as likewise of the letter which I addressed to you by his Majesty's order, upon returning the two papers relative to Spain and the King of Prussia, as totally inadmissible, the King orders me to acquaint you, Sir, that his Majesty adheres both to the form and substance of those two pieces, in which his dignity concurred with his justice and good faith, leaving all the world to judge which of the two courts have shewn an aversion to peace during the course of that negotiation; whether it be that court, which, from a principle of candour, not by way of assuming an imperative tone, has always endeavoured to give open answers, in order to shorten delays, by obviating misunderstandings, and to avoid the reproach of having acted delusively even with an enemy; who, in the conditions of peace, so far from making an ill use of her prosperity, has not even insisted on all those rights which the *Uti Possidetis*, and the memorial of France of the 26th March, gave her; who, moreover, proposes, that after the conclusion of peace between the two crowns they shall respectively be at liberty, with regard to the contest concerning Silesia, to fulfil the engagements they have contracted with their allies; it belongs, therefore, Sir, to Europe, to judge whether this is the court which has shewn an aversion to peace, or whether it is not that, which, after so many variations and

and delays on her part, arbitrarily continues to insist on objects in America which we have a right to by the *Uti possidetis*, and which would make a direct attempt on the essential rights of our conquests in Canada and its appurtenances in the Gulph of St. Laurence; which, in Germany, not only refuses to give up her conquests, gained over his Majesty's allies, as a just compensation for the important restitutions with which his Majesty is willing to accommodate France; but even pretends to impose an obligation on his Majesty not to fulfil the engagements of his crown towards the King of Prussia; which, moreover, not satisfied with throwing so many insuperable obstacles in the way to peace, has not scrupled to interpose new perplexities in opposition to this precious blessing for which the nations sigh, by intermixing, too late, matters so foreign to the present negotiation between the two crowns, as are the discussions between Great Britain and Spain.

Such Sir, being the conduct of the two courts, the King perceives with regret, that the peace so much desired is far distant, and that at this very moment the court of France is willing to intrust it to the uncertain fate of farther events.

If this is the intention of France, his Majesty relies on the same Providence which has hitherto blessed his arms, and the sincerity of his intentions towards peace; and hopes, that the course of events, accomplishing what his Majesty's moderation has in

vain attempted, will recal the court of France to a more favourable disposition.

Nevertheless, Sir, although I am not at liberty to confer with you concerning the *Ultimatum* of your court separately, yet if you desire, Sir, that we should have a conference on the two *Ultimatums* of our courts together, I will be at your command when you think proper, that I may have the honour to learn what you have to communicate to me with respect to the intentions of your court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. PITT.

M. BUSSY'S ANSWER TO MR. PITT, DATED THE
16th OF AUGUST, 1761.

SIR,

I RECEIVED the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 15th of this month. I will not undertake to discuss the principal object of it, without submitting it to my court, whether it is proper to make a reply, and what that reply should be. I will confine myself, Sir, to assure, that I accept, with pleasure, the offer your Excellency makes me, of a conference on the subject of the two *Ultimatums* of our courts; as you are out of town, and as I would not trespass on the moments you devote to the establishment of your health, I refer myself to you entirely to appoint the day and hour when I may come to confer with you.

Nothing

Nothing can be more true than the assurance I make to you of the respectful attachment with which you have inspired me, and with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

DE BUSSY.

THE ANSWER OF THE BRITISH MINISTER TO THE
ULTIMATUM OF FRANCE, DELIVERED TO M.
BUSSY, ON THE 16TH OF AUGUST, 1761.

THE Most Christian King having repeatedly declared, in the *Ultimatum* of the court of France, remitted to Mr. Pitt by M. Buffy, as well as in the memorial of the propositions of peace, which was remitted by the Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Stanley; that if the negotiation entered upon between the two crowns, has not the desired effect, all the articles conceded in that negotiation by France, cannot be considered in any case as points agreed upon, any more than the memorial of the month of March last, in relation to the *Uti possidetis*; the King declares, in return, that if the concessions his Majesty has made to bring about peace, should not be accepted by his most Christian Majesty, the important restitutions offered to France, as well as the other circumstances herein after expressed, cannot for the future be considered as given up.

ARTICLE I. The King will not desert his claim to the entire and total cession of all Canada and its dependencies, without any new limits or exceptions

whatever; and likewise insists on the complete cession of the islands of Cape Breton, and of the other islands in the gulph and river of St. Laurence.

Canada, according to the lines of its limits, traced by the Marquis de Vaudreuil himself, when that governor surrendered the said province by capitulation to the British General Sir J. Amherst, comprehends on one side the lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superieur; and the said line drawn to the Red Lake, takes in, by a serpentine progress, the Ouabachi, as far as its junction with the Ohio, and from thence extends itself along the latter river as far inclusively as its influx into the Mississippi.

It is in conformity to this state of the limits made by the French Governor, that the King claims the cession of Canada, a province which the court of France moreover has offered anew by their *Ultimatum* to cede to his Britannic Majesty, *in the most extensive manner, as expressed in the memorial of propositions of peace, of the 13th of July.*

As to what concerns the public profession and exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, the new subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall be maintained in that privilege without interruption or molestation: and the French inhabitants, or others, who may have been subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, shall have full liberty and power to sell their effects, provided they dispose of them to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and to transport

port their property, as well as their persons, without being restrained from their emigration under any pretence whatever; (unless in case of debt, or for breach of criminal laws;) it being always understood, that the time granted for the said emigration shall be limited to the space of one year, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty.

ART. II. As to what respects the line to be drawn from Rio-Perdido, as contained in the note remitted by M. Buffy of the 18th of this month, with regard to the limits of Louisiana, his Majesty is obliged to reject so unexpected a proposition, as by no means admissible in two respects.

1. Because the said line, under colour of fixing the limits of Louisiana, annexes vast countries to that province, which, with the commanding posts and forts, the Marquis de Vaudreuil has, by the most solemn capitulation, incontestibly yielded into the possession of his Britannic Majesty, under the description of Canada, and that consequently, however contentious the pretensions of the two crowns may have been before the war, and particularly with respect to the course of the Ohio, and the territories in that part, since the surrender of Canada, and the line of its limits has been traced, as aforesaid, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, all those opposite titles are united, and become valid without contradiction, to confirm to Great Britain, with all the rest of Ca-

nada, the possession of those countries on that part of the Ohio which have been heretofore contested.

2. The line proposed to fix the bounds of Louisiana cannot be admitted, because it would comprise in another part, on the side of the Carolinas, very extensive countries and numerous nations, who have always been reputed to be under the protection of the King, a right which his Majesty has no intention of renouncing; and then the King, for the advantage of peace, might consent to leave intermediate countries under the protection of Great Britain, and particularly the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, and another nation, situate between the British settlements and the Mississippi.

ART. III. The King refers to the third article of the *Ultimatum* of England, concerning the cession of Senegal and its dependencies, as well as the island of Goree, in the most ample manner, as expressed in the said article; and his Majesty renews the declaration which has been made by Mr. Stanley, that if the court of France would suggest any reasonable expedient to provide themselves with negroes, which may not be too detrimental to the interests of the British subjects in Africa, he will willingly enter upon a discussion of this subject.

ART. IV. The important privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, under certain limitations and restrictions, to the subjects of France, for fishing and drying their cod-fish on a certain part

of

of the banks of Newfoundland, has not been refused by Great Britain, but connected with a reciprocal satisfaction on the part of France, with regard to the indispensable object of Dunkirk, which the King has required, and still requires: it is, therefore, on condition that the town and port of Dunkirk shall be put in the condition it ought to have been in by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, that his Majesty consents to renew to France the privilege of fishing, and of drying their fish by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, upon the aforesaid district of Newfoundland.

As to the demand which his most Christian Majesty has farther made, that his subjects may fish in the Gulph of St. Laurence, as also to have a port there *without fortifications*, and subject to the inspection of England, as proposed on the part of the D. de Choiseuil, in his conferences with Mr. Stanley on that head, which port should merely serve as a shelter to the fishing boats of the French nation which shall land there; the King, to manifest to his most Christian Majesty, and to the whole world, the sincerity of his intentions with regard to peace, will consent,

1. To grant the French subjects the privilege of fishing in the gulph of St. Laurence, upon this express condition, that is to say, That the said French subjects shall abstain from that particular fishery on all the coasts appertaining to Great Britain, whether

on the continent or on the islands situated in the said Gulph of St. Laurence, which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed and always exercised; saving always the privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, to the subjects of France, to fish and dry their codfish on a part specified on the banks of Newfoundland, which privilege is proposed to be renewed to France as aforesaid.

2. The King will consent to cede to his Majesty the isle of St. Pierre with its ports, which isle, with respect to that part of Newfoundland situate between the bay of Placentia, and the bay of La Fortune, stands east south east, and its port opens to the north east, the interior part of which port is called *Bourg-way*; the island of St. Pierre, which the King is willing to cede, is divided by a little streight from another island known by the name of *Maquelon*, or of *Michelon*, which lies to the north of the said isle of St. Pierre.

To the cession of the said isle, as above mentioned, his Majesty annexes four indispensable conditions.

1. That France, on no pretence, nor under any denomination whatever, shall erect any fortifications, either in the said isle, or in its port, and that she shall not keep any troops there, nor maintain any military establishment whatever.

2. That

2. That the said isle and the said port shall only serve as a shelter to the fishing vessels of the French nation, and that France shall not suffer the vessels of any other nation whatever to partake of the convenience of this shelter for the fishing boats.

3. That the possession of the isle of St. Pierre as aforesaid, shall not be constituted in any case, to confer, transmit, or participate in any matter whatever the least right or power of fishing or of drying cod-fish in any part of the coast of Newfoundland, beyond the district expressly stipulated and fixed for that purpose by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, that is to say, *a Loco Cap Bonavista nuncupato, usque ad extremitatem ejusdem Insulae septentrionalis, indeque ad Latus occidentale recurrendo usque ad Lacum Pointriche appellatum.*

4. That in virtue of the cession of the said island as aforesaid, an English commissary shall be allowed to reside there, and the commander of the British squadron at Newfoundland shall be at liberty from time to time to inspect the said isle and the said port, to see that the stipulations above expressed are punctually observed.

ART. V. The proposition of an alternative suggested by the court of France, in relation to the isles of Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent, commonly called neutral islands, is by no means admissible. The King, however, from a principle of moderation, continues his inclination to agree

agree to an equal partition of the said four islands, to be ascertained in the future treaty between the two crowns.

ART. VI. The King consents to restore to his most Christian Majesty,

1. The important conquest of Belle-isle, with the artillery, &c. which was therein at the time of taking the said island.

2. His Majesty likewise agrees to restore to the most Christian King the fertile and wealthy island of Guadaloupe, with that of Marigalante, with the artillery, &c. which was therein at the time of taking the said islands.

ART. VII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty, as likewise Fort St. Philip, in the condition it stood, and with the artillery therein, &c. at the time of taking the said island and fort.

ART. VIII. As to what regards the restitution and evacuation of the conquests made by France over the King's allies in Germany, and particularly of Wesel and the other territories of the King of Prussia, his Majesty persists in his demand relative to that subject in the 7th article of the *Ultimatum* of England; it being always understood, that all the places belonging to his Majesty's allies in Germany shall be restored, with the artillery, &c. found in them at the time of taking the said places.

ART.

ART. IX. With regard to the succour to be afforded to the King of Prussia on the part of the British crown, as an auxiliary, after the conclusion of the separate treaty between Great Britain and France, his Majesty remains in the same inflexible resolution which he declared at the first overture of the present negotiation, that he never will desist from giving constant succour to the King of Prussia, as an auxiliary, *with efficacy and good faith*, in order to attain the salutary end of a general pacification in Germany. With this view, his Majesty, far from proposing to leave France at liberty to send armies into Silesia, *without being limited to the number stipulated in her actual engagements with the court of Vienna*, (a circumstance not to be found in any part of the Ultimatum of England) has uniformly declared, as the thirteenth article of the said Ultimatum professes, that Great Britain and France shall be at liberty to support their respective allies and auxiliaries, in their particular contest for the recovery of Silesia, according to the engagements entered into by each crown.

The King declares at the same time; that his Majesty has neither the intention nor the authority to take upon him to inhibit and forbid any foreign troops from entering into the service and pay of the King of Prussia, however his Majesty might be inclined to consent not to furnish, but by means of subsidy, those supplies which Great Britain shall judge

judge convenient to grant his Prussian Majesty, in pursuance of her engagements.

ART. X. With regard to the captures made after the commencement of hostilities, and before the declaration of war, the King continues of opinion, that such a demand on the part of France is neither just nor maintainable, according to the most incontestible principle of the rights of war and of nations.

ART. XI. Concerning the evacuations of Ostend and Nieuport, the King cannot but refer to the most express and irrevocable stipulation of the most solemn treaties expressed in the 11th article of the *Ultimatum* of Great Britain, as also to his declaration relative to that subject: and his Majesty relies on the sincerity of the declaration on the part of France: that is to say, that *the intention of his Most Christian Majesty never was to keep possession of the aforesaid places after the return of peace.*

ART. XII. In regard to the cessation of hostilities, the King persists, in every respect, in the same intentions, declared in the 12th article of the British *Ultimatum*.

ART. XIII. As to what concerns the French East India Company, he can only refer to the 9th article of the *Ultimatum* of England, with regard to which no disagreement seems to subsist.

ART. XIV. As to the prisoners of war, the two Courts seem to agree, perfectly on that head.

The

The Court of France cannot but perceive from this answer, the sincerity of his Majesty's intentions, as well as the moderation which directs his Majesty towards the means of reconciliation with the Most Christian King.

Signed H. STANLEY.

THE LAST MEMORIAL OF FRANCE TO ENGLAND,
DELIVERED TO MR. PITT, BY M. BUSSY ON
THE 13TH OF SEPTEMBER 1761.

THE King accepts the declaration of the King of England contained in the preamble of the answer, and renews that which he before made to his Majesty on this head, in such manner that it is concluded between the two Courts finally and without ambiguity, that if peace is not the result of the present negotiation, all that has been said, written and negotiated between the two crowns, since the Memorial of the 26th of March inclusive, to the moment of the rupture, shall be void and of no effect, and shall not be brought as an argument in favour of either of the parties, in any future negotiation of peace.

ART. I. The King has declared in his first memorial, and in his *Ultimatum*, that he will cede and guaranty to England, the possession of Canada, in the most ample manner; his Majesty persists in that offer, and without discussing the line of its limits marked in a map presented by Mr. Stanley; as that line,

line, on which England rests its demand, is without doubt the most extensive bound which can be given to the cession, the King is willing to grant it.

His Majesty had annexed four conditions to his guaranty: it seems that England agrees to them; the King only conceives that the term of one year for the sale of the French effects and for the emigration is too short, and his Majesty desires that it may be agreed to extend the term of one year to eighteen months at least.

As the Court of England has added, to the first article of their answer to the entire and total cession of Canada, as agreed between the two Courts, the word *Dependencies*, it is necessary to give a specific explanation of this word, that the cession might not in the end occasion difficulties between the two courts with regard to the meaning of the word dependencies.

ART. II. The first paragraph, with respect to the limits of Louisiana, contained in the second article of the answer from England, is agreed to by France. The second paragraph is neither just nor explicit, and it is finally proposed to express in the following terms:

The intermediate savage nations between the lakes and the Mississippi, and within the line traced out, shall be neuter and independent, under the protection of the King; and those without the line, on the side of the English shall be likewise neuter and independent, under the

the protection of the King of England. The English traders also shall be prohibited from going among the savage nations beyond the line on either side; but the said nations shall not be restrained in their freedom of commerce with the French and English, as they have exercised it heretofore.

ART. III. Although France is sensible how opposite it is to principles of conciliation, that the party which cedes should propose to the party who has conquered, and would maintain the cession of possessions which are not perfectly known, though there is no doubt but that the manner which England requires is liable to innumerable difficulties, nevertheless, the King, to testify his acquiescence in every expedient which may conciliate the two crowns, is willing to declare to England, that he will guarantee the possession of Senegal and Goree to that crown, provided England, on her part, will guarantee the possession of the settlements of Anamaboo and Akra, on the coast of Africa.

ART. IV. The fourth article of the answer includes a variety of objects, each of which requires a particular explanation.

England always endeavours to connect the liberty of fishing and drying the fish on part of the coast of Newfoundland, granted by the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, with the 9th article of the same treaty, which stipulates the demolition of Dunkirk: it is given in answer to England for the fourth

and last time, that those two stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht have nothing in common between them, unless that they are both comprised in the said treaty ; and that the concession expressed in favour of the French in the thirteenth article of that treaty, is a compensation for the cession of Newfoundland and Annapolis Royal, made on the part of France to England by the twelfth and thirteenth articles of the same treaty.

But to the end that the two courts may clearly understand each other on this head, and for the furtherance of peace, the King agrees to demolish the works which have been made for the defence of the port of Dunkirk since the beginning of this war, to fill up the basin which contains the ships of war, and to destroy the buildings belonging to the rope-yard : but at the same time, his Majesty will leave the trading port, which will not receive a frigate, subsisting for the good of England, as well as for the benefit of France. She will also undertake not to suffer any maritime military establishment in that port : but the cunette shall be left standing round the place for the salubrity of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

As to the fishery and the drying of fish on the banks of Newfoundland, the King requires that the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht be confirmed by the present treaty.

Concerning

Concerning the condition proposed by England, with respect to the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Laurence, France agrees, that beyond the port of Newfoundland, specified by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the French (unless in case of accidents) cannot land on the coasts appertaining to the English in the gulph of St. Laurence, whether to dry their fish, or to spread their nets on the said coasts; but without these two exceptions, the French shall be at liberty to fish, without molestation, in all parts of the said gulf of St. Laurence.

With respect to the cession of the island of St. Pierre, the smallness of that island, and its situation near Plaisance, make the King of opinion that such a shelter shall be illusory, and will rather serve to breed conquests between the two nations, than to procure the accommodations for the fishery of the French subjects.

The King had required the island of Cape Breton, or the island of St. John; his Majesty had even restrained himself to the little island of Conceau, and now makes the same proposition to his Britannic Majesty; or, if the King of England, for reasons unknown to France, cannot agree to the cession of the isle of Conceau, it is proposed to add to the cession of St. Pierre, the islands of *Maquelon* or *Michelon*, two islands, of which one, which is St. Pierre, is but three leagues wide, and Michelon but two. However inconsiderable these two settlements

may be, which do not properly make one, the King will accept of them, and will even oblige himself,

1. That neither in one or the other island, or in that of Conceau, if England cedes the latter, there shall be any military establishment; France will only maintain a guard of fifty men to enforce the police, which it will be necessary to maintain in those islands.

2. As far as possible, considering the weak guard of the police, the King will prevent all foreign vessels, even English, from landing at those islands.

3. France does not pretend to fish and dry their fish on the coast of Newfoundland, but in pursuance of the stipulation of the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, provided it be understood that the French may fish and dry their fish on the coasts of St. Pierre and Michelon.

4. Lastly, the King allows, that an English commissary shall be resident in the said island, to be witness to the punctuality with which the stipulated condition of the treaty shall be observed.

ART. V. The partition of the four neutral islands must be specified between the two courts in the preliminaries; France accepts the partition of those islands proposed by England, provided that St. Lucia be declared to make part of the partition to be regulated in favour of France.

ART. VI. The King, without entering into any discussion

discussion of the sixth article, agrees to this article as well as to the seventh.

ART. VIII. The King, with regard to the eighth article, refers to the seventh article of his *Ultimatum*. It is not in his Majesty's power to evacuate countries which appertain to his ally, the Empress-Queen.

ART. IX. The ninth article of the answer of England requires some explanation, for it is worded in such a manner as not to convey any precise meaning; it supposes respective engagements on the part of the King towards the Empress, and on the part of England towards the King of Prussia, to which the two courts are strangers. France does not suppose that the King of England can hinder the allies of his crown, such as the sovereigns of Hanover, Cassel, and Brunswick, from joining their forces with those of the King of Prussia; but without entering into a needless discussion, the King is resolved, for the sake of peace, to make the most important sacrifices, and at the same time unalterably determined, to grant nothing in the future treaty of peace, which may be contrary to the stipulations he has entered into with his allies. It is with their consent, and with mutual concert, that the King proposes to England, in relation to the war in Westphalia, the tenth article of the memorial of his Majesty's propositions, and the seventh and thirteenth articles of the French *Ultimatum*. The King

abides by these articles, in answer to the eighth and ninth articles of the answer of England; not refusing, nevertheless, to treat of any fresh propositions which England may make on these heads, which shall be communicated to his allies, and to which his Majesty will listen, with the consent of the Empress, if they are not contrary to his Majesty's engagements with that princess.

ART. X. France is of opinion, that her proposition in relation to the captures in which the King's subjects are interested, are so just, that she abides by them, and refers to the twelfth article of his propositions on that head.

ART. XI. The King, after signing of the treaty, even of the preliminaries, will give a declaration under his hand, to the King of England, by which his Majesty will declare, that his intention never was to bring the towns of Ostend and Nieuport, under his dominion.

ART. XII. Provided that the terms of the cessation of hostilities may not be prejudicial to either crown, France will agree to them.

ART. XIII. France adopts the negotiation between the India Companies of the two nations, on condition, that the negotiation shall be concluded at the same time with that between the two crowns, and to that effect, each company shall enter upon their negotiation without delay, and shall name commissaries for that purpose.

ART,

ART. XIV. This article will meet with no difficulty.

The court of England will do justice to the considerable accommodations which the court of France has testified in this memorial, towards a reconciliation between the two crowns.

MR. STANLEY'S LETTER TO THE DUKE DE CHOI-
SEUIL, OF THE 20TH SEPTEMBER, 1761.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, pursuant to the orders I received yesterday from my court, that as the court of France has not agreed to accept the propositions contained in the last answer from the British court, the King my master has ordered me to request a passport of you, to return to England; my court expects also, that M. Buffy will, on his part, receive the same orders.

As the state of war has no influence over the personal sentiments of the King of England, with regard to their Most Christian Majesties, he is persuaded that they will take part in the event of his marriage, and I have letters in my hands, by which he communicates that happy event to their Majesties. I have the honour to send your Excellency the copies, and I take the liberty, Sir, to consult your better intelligence, to inform myself of the most suitable manner of remitting these letters, in

pursuance of my credentials, and according to the established custom of your court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, H. STANLEY.

THE DUKE DE CHOISEUL'S ANSWER TO MR,
STANLEY, THE 20TH SEPTEMBER, 1761.

SIR,

THE King has ordered me, Sir, to expedite the passports which are necessary for your return to England: you will find them annexed. M. Bussy had orders to demand an eclaircissement with respect to the last answer from England, and to return to France, if those eclaircissements were not favourable. They have certainly been otherwise, since your court has anticipated his return by your recal. However it be, Sir, his Majesty hopes that some more happy opportunity will produce more effectual inclinations to peace, and he has charged me to observe to you, that you may assure the King of England, that he will always find him disposed to renew the negotiation, and to consent to equitable conditions, which may establish a firm union between the two crowns.

The King most sincerely takes part in the marriage of the King of England; if you will send me the letters from his British Majesty, I will remit them to their Majesties.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, Le Duc de CHOISEUL.

Extracts from the PAPERS relative to the rupture with Spain, laid before both Houses of Parliament. With Observations.

I

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. SECRETARY
PITT TO THE EARL OF BRISTOL, DATED
WHITEHALL, 28TH JULY, 1761.

[This is the only extract of all Mr. Pitt's letters on the affairs of Spain, that was laid before Parliament.]

WITH regard to the strange idea of the proposed guaranty of Spain, mentioned in Mr. Stanley's dispatches, as also with respect to the *engagements with Spain*, concerning our disputes with that crown, which the *Duc de Choiseul* now avows to have been taken before the first overtures of France, for the particular peace with England, and which consequently had been from that time as disingenuously suppressed as they were in the moment insolently produced; the King's servants were unanimously of opinion to reject the thought of suffering those disputes to be mixed in the negotiation with France; and submitted to his Majesty, that a peremptory declaration, to that effect, should be made to M. de Bussy, giving that Minister withal clearly to understand, that it would

would be considered here as offensive to the dignity of the King, that farther mention should be made of such an idea, and that it is likewise understood here, that France at no time has a right to meddle in such discussions between Great Britain and Spain.

[These words have reference to another paper, which was not produced, but the words *engagements with Spain*, clearly point to the Family Compact, which about this time was settled between the courts of Madrid and Versailles.]

I am now to acquaint your Excellency, that M. de Buffy did not come to me till last Thursday morning, when, after delivering to me the same memorial which Mr. Stanley had received from the Duc de Choiseul, and transmitted to me, he also gave me two supplemental memorials of a most extraordinary nature, copies whereof I send your Excellency inclosed, together with a copy of my letter to that minister, returning the two said memorials, as totally inadmissible.

With regard to the memorial relative to the disputes between England and Spain, that piece will best speak its enormity, and the extreme offensiveness of the matter which it contains; at the same time my letter, by order of the King, to M. de Buffy, sending back the said memorial, will sufficiently convey to your Excellency the just sensations which such a paper has excited here in the breast of every one to whom it was imparted.

It is the King's pleasure, therefore, that your Excellency should immediately communicate to M. Wall the above-mentioned memorial, together with my letter to M. de Bussy returning the same: and in case the Spanish Minister shall avow, that this strange piece has really been authorised by the court of Madrid, your Excellency will remonstrate, with energy and firmness, the unexampled irregularity of such a proceeding on the part of Spain, not only still in amity with Great Britain (though discussions of difficulty unluckily engage the two courts), but whose intercourse has hitherto professed itself to be friendly, and whose declared aims have all along seemed to point to an amicable adjustment of the long subsisting disputes relating to the coasts of Honduras, &c. by some equitable regulation of the enjoyment of the privilege of cutting logwood by the subjects of Great Britain. You will farther express, with the utmost seriousness, to M. Wall, that nothing can equal the King's surprise and regret at a transaction so unprecedented, except his Majesty's steady purposes, and immoveable determination, not to be diverted, by any considerations, from that even tenor of conduct towards Spain, which his just and constant care of his people dictates, and which his royal wisdom and magnanimity have hitherto pursued.

On the one hand, then, his Majesty will by no means add facilities for the satisfaction of that court, in consideration of any intimation, on the part of a hostile

hostile power, of union of councils, or of present or future conjunctions; nor, on the other hand, will his Majesty's equity and moderation cease to dispose his royal mind to the same reasonable terms of accommodation with Spain, with regard to such objects, and in such manner, as the King, excited by inclination, and determined by system, has *through the course of this negotiation*, invariably declared himself ready to embrace.

As to the three points mentioned in this memorial; First, Concerning the restitution of prizes made against the flag of Spain, or supposed to have been taken in violation of the territory of that kingdom, it suffices to say, That the courts here instituted to take cognizance of all matters of such a nature, are always open to the parties who think fit to seek redress in due course of justice; and it is superfluous to observe, That the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty are not a tribunal to which Great Britain allows an appeal.

Next, as to the stale and inadmissible pretensions of the Biscayans and Guipuscoyans to fish at Newfoundland, on which important point your Excellency is already so fully instructed, you will *again*, [this word indisputably alludes to the antecedent paper, which the Minister refused to lay before Parliament] on this occasion, let M. Wall clearly understand, That this is a matter held sacred; and that no concession, on the part of his Majesty, so destructive

tive to this true and capital interest of Great Britain, will be yielded to Spain, however abetted and supported; and it is still hoped, that prudence, as well as justice, will induce that court no longer to expect, as the price of an union which is at least as much her interest as ours to maintain inviolate, a sacrifice which can never be thought of.

Thirdly, with regard to disputes relative to the logwood coasts, the King will *still* receive with pleasure, agreeable to his Majesty's *repeated* declarations to the court of Spain, any just overtures on the part of his Catholic Majesty (provided they be not conveyed through the channel of France, by whose intervention the King will never treat of these disputes), for amicably adjusting the same, and for removing effectually every source of reasonable complaint or dispute on this head, by terminating to mutual satisfaction all things relating thereto, by a candid and equitable regulation,

After the above memorial of France, and the intimation therein, *little short of a declaration of war in reversion, and that not at a distance, held out in terrorem* on the part of France and Spain, M. Wall cannot wonder that your Excellency is ordered by his Majesty, as you hereby are, to desire again, in this conjuncture, a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments that have been so long preparing in the various ports of Spain: and his Excellency cannot but himself be sensible how strongly
the

the King is called upon, in the order of things, and from the indispensable motives of what he owes to his crown and people, to expect that the court of Madrid will come to some explicit and categorical elucidation with regard to the destination of her fleets, as well as with respect to her dispositions to maintain and cultivate friendship and good correspondence with Great Britain: and this measure is become the more highly necessary, as the emissaries and partizans of France here are not a little active in endeavouring to infuse, particularly into people's minds in the city, for purposes too obvious to mention, that a rupture with Spain, in conjunction with France, is approaching.

Although in the course of this instruction to your Excellency, I could not, with such an insolent memorial from France before me, but proceed on the supposition, that, insidious as that court is, she could not dare to commit, in such a manner, the name of his Catholic Majesty, without being authorised thereto: I must not, however, conceal from your Excellency, that it is thought possible here, that the court of France, though not wholly unauthorised, may, with her usual artifice in negotiation, have put much exaggeration into this matter; and in case, upon entering into remonstrance on this affair, you shall perceive a disposition in M. Wall to explain away and disavow the authorisation of Spain

to this offensive transaction of France and to come to categorical and satisfactory declarations relatively to the final intentions of Spain, your Excellency will, with readiness and your usual address, adapt yourself to so desirable a circumstance, and will open to the court of Madrid as handsome a retreat as may be, in case you perceive from the Spanish Minister, that they sincerely wish to find one, and to remove, by an effectual satisfaction, the unfavourable impressions which this memorial of the court of France has justly and unavoidably made on the mind of his Majesty.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF
BRISTOL, TO MR. SECRETARY PITT, DATED
SEGOVIA, AUGUST 31, RECEIVED SEPT. 11.

I MUST now acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your letter of the 24th of July to M. de Bussy, together with copies of two memorials presented by that minister, both of which performances you returned back as totally inadmissible.

A few hours after the messenger Arduin, arrived at Segovia, I went to St. Ildephonso, where I passed a considerable time with General Wall; and as I have had four other conferences with his Excellency since the first, I will set down, with the utmost precision in my power, all that has passed between us.

It

It was unnecessary for me to communicate what related to the negotiations for peace with the court of Versailles, as the Marquis Grimaldi had transmitted copies of that whole transaction ; however, from my shewing a readiness to give that mark of his Majesty's confidence in the Spanish ministry, M. Wall told me, the Catholic King was truly sensible of his Majesty's great attention towards Spain, and was convinced the distance of England from hence occasioned this court's not receiving the earliest information from us of what was in agitation.

I then delivered to M. Wall the copy of the memorial relating to Spain, desiring him to read it over, and to acquaint me whether it was word for word such as had been authorised from hence ; on returning it to me, his Excellency said, it was *verbatim* what had been sent by order of the Catholic King to Versailles ; whereupon I read your letter to M. de Buffy, in which the memorial was returned, saying, It was impossible for me to give a stronger idea of the impression that irregular proceeding had made in England, than by communicating to this court the manner in which such an unexampled overture had been received, look into, and sent back, by the King's command

Nothing has been omitted, on my part, to shew what an unparalleled proceeding this was from a King, not only in amity with Great Britain, but whose possessions (notwithstanding the difficult discussions

cussions which had so long and so unhappily subsisted between the two crowns) had been uniformly calculated to convince my court, the only aim of that of Madrid was amicably to adjust our differences concerning the logwood coast.

With relation to the idea of the proposed guaranty of Spain, I desired to know of M. Wall, wherefore a power that had no share in the war was to be invited to guarantee the future peace? And I entered very minutely into engagements taken by Spain with France, in regard to our disputes with the Catholic King; when I could not help expressing the truest regret to find, not only of how long standing those engagements were, from the Duke de Choiseul's own confession, but also to perceive, they had been so industriously concealed during such a space of time, and to find them now produced in so insolent a manner by our enemies, because (for views too obvious to be mentioned) the French ministry looked upon that period as the most critical moment; yet I persuaded myself the proper reception this transaction had met with at home, would clear all M. de Choiseul's doubts, and blast all his expectations, since he could not fail being at present convinced, no menaces of a union of councils, nor any threats intimating little less than the reversionary declaration of war from Spain and France (perhaps not far off) could shake, much less intimidate or force England to permit her Spanish disputes

either to be blended with our present negotiation with the court of Versailles, or to suffer France, on any occasion, to meddle in our discussions with his Catholic Majesty; and moreover, M. Buffoy had been acquainted, in the most explicit terms, that it would hereafter be considered as offensive to the King's dignity, if any further mention was made of such ideas; this, I informed M. Wall, was the energetic language that had been held to the French Minister at London; and that my orders were, to remonstrate with his Excellency on the unprecedented conduct of Spain, in conveying, at such a conjuncture, through such a channel, and in such terms, her sentiments to Great Britain. But I was commanded, whilst I expressed his Majesty's surprise at so unheard of a transaction, equally to make known the King's regret to find the court of Madrid had taken such a step; yet his eminent virtues would not permit even these considerations, or these motives, in any way to divert his unalterable resolution of adhering to the steady purpose and uniform conduct his royal wisdom had hitherto observed towards Spain.

I repeatedly enforced how strong my instructions were to convince this court it was not to be expected or imagined, that the intimations of a hostile prince, or any insinuations of a combination of forces or union of interest between Spain and France, would in the least facilitate the satisfaction which was asked from hence, in relation to our differences in America.

rica. But the same magnanimity that dictated to the King these sentiments, prescribed also to his Majesty's equity the following determination, which was the constant language I had invariably held by my Sovereign's commands, of his royal intention, being ever and alike disposed to come to any reasonable terms of accommodation with Spain, finally to adjust our long subsisting differences.

With regard to the three points contained in the memorial presented as the Spanish grievances, after dwelling upon the exact and unimpeached justice of the English courts of judicature, I observed it was the fault of the parties who thought themselves aggrieved, if they did not seek redress in that due course which was ever open for them to pursue, since there was the regular courts established to enquire into all matters of that nature, and those who were not satisfied with the decrees issued from thence, had always recourse to the Lords of Appeals; but that, it must be owned, it gave no favourable opinion of a cause about which the clients only clamoured, without seeking to have it decided in the proper forms of law: and it was superfluous to add, how many instances might be met with to ascertain this assertion; therefore the first article might be looked upon only in order to swell the appearance of grievances: and in all lights, the French ministers would never be authorised by us to take cogni-

nizance of what was solely to be decided by English tribunals.

As to the second article, containing the claim so often set up by the Biscayans and Guipuscoans, to fish at Newfoundland, and *as often denied by England*, I had, in the clearest terms I could make use of, shewed, that the first discovery of that island was made at the expence and by the command of Henry VII. and I had likewise demonstrated the uninterrupted possession of it, from that time to the present date, to have belonged to the English, from their being constantly settled there, whilst the Spaniards never had any establishments in those parts; therefore it was absolutely impossible for Great Britain to make the least concession in so clear a right, and it was hoped Spain would no longer expect, as the price of our union, a sacrifice which could never be granted by the court of London.

Lastly, Concerning the disputes about the coast of Honduras, I could add nothing to the *repeated declarations I had made in the King's name*, of the satisfaction with which his Majesty would receive any just overture from Spain, (upon condition that France was not to be the channel of that conveyance) for terminating amicably and to mutual satisfaction, every reasonable complaint on this matter, by proposing some equitable regulation for securing to us the long-enjoyed privilege of cutting log-wood (an indulgence confirmed by treaty, and of course authorised

rised in the most sacred manner), nor could I give stronger assurances than the past, of his Majesty's steady purpose to cause all establishments on the logwood coasts, contrary to the territorial jurisdiction of Spain, to be removed.

After having gone through these several points, General Wall, as he had done upon *a former occasion*, desired me to put into writing the principal heads of my discourse, promising me to make a proper use of them at the *Despachos*, for his incorrect memory rendered such notes absolutely necessary for him: I readily complied with his Excellency's request, as I was certain by that method the Catholic King would be exactly informed of what I meant to have conveyed to his knowledge. The inclosed paper, marked *A.* is the copy of what I wrote down, and gave to the Spanish Minister:

I proceeded by saying, although a precipitated step could not be entirely recovered, yet it might be remedied; for, without any formal retraction, the expressing some concern for what had not been considered in all its consequences, might soften, and even wipe off, any impressions, however unfavourable, that might, nay, must have been made on the mind of his Majesty, by this memorial from the court of France.

As I thought I perceived a disposition in M. Wall, in some measure, to disavow the offensiveness of this step, I did not lose the opportunity of sug-

gesting every pretext, and offering to his Excellency all kinds of handles to explain away what had so unavoidably given disgust in England; and I endeavoured, in pursuance of what you so much recommend to me, to adapt myself to those circumstances which were of a nature to furnish this court with the best retreat imaginable.

I have here related, without interruption, what has been alledged by me, and have set down all the arguments I made use of; therefore, I will now proceed to give an account of what was insisted upon by General Wall, in support of his own reasonings, or advanced by his Excellency in contradiction to mine.

The Spanish Minister began by acquainting me, that M. Grimaldi had conveyed to him all that had passed, either in writing or in discourse, between yourself, Sir, and M. de Bussy, as well as the language Mr. Stanley had held with the Duke of Choiseul on the memorial relating to Spain. His Excellency told me, the Most Christian King having early intimidated his desire here, that his Catholic Majesty should guarantee the intended peace between the courts of London and Versailles; in order to render that peace more permanent, the King of Spain had thought proper to agree to that proposal's being made by France to England, as well as to consent to France's express offer of endeavouring to accommodate the disputes subsisting between England and Spain, at the same time she was trying to

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put an end to a war which had lasted so long between the British and French crowns. But he affirmed to me, that the intention of the court of Madrid, in assenting to that proposal, was totally void of any design to retard the peace, and absolutely free from the least intention of giving offence to his Majesty, though it appeared that step had been productive of different effects; that, as to England's declaring she never would add facilities towards accommodating her differences with another Sovereign, in consideration of any intimation from a power at war, or the threatenings of an enemy, the Catholic King could not but applaud those sentiments in his Majesty, which he felt so strongly within himself; adding, it was certain the court of London was at liberty to reject any proposals coming from the French ministry, yet that could not in any way influence the King of Spain's communicating whatever measures he thought conducive to his interests, to the Most Christian King, his Catholic Majesty's friend, ally, and near relation.

M. Wall pursued his discourse by acquainting me with France's having spontaneously offered to the Catholic King (in case the disputes between Great Britain and Spain should, at any time hereafter, occasion a rupture between our two courts) to unite her forces with those of Spain, to prevent the English encroachments in America upon his Catholic Majesty's territory: an offer which the Spanish Mo-

narch had received with that cordiality which was due to a friend, who was determined even to involve herself in a fresh war, in order to defend Spain.

General Wall then asked me, whether it was possible to be imagined in England, the Catholic King was seeking to provoke us; especially *at a time that the court of London was in the most flourishing and most exalted situation it had ever known, occasioned by the greatest series of prosperities that any single nation had ever met with?* [Could there be a greater compliment paid to the conduct of Mr. Pitt?] And he assured me, the Catholic King, both before and at present, esteemed as well as valued the frequent professions I had made, by command from my court, of his Majesty's desire to adjust our mutual differences amicably; but he perceived, the terms on which those disputes were sought to be accommodated, occasioned the difficulty. The Catholic King, he said, did not think England would look upon the French ministers as a tribunal to which the court of London make an appeal, nor meant it as such, when the first article of grievances was conveyed through that channel. As to the second, the claim of the Gui-puscoans and Biscayans to fish for *Bacallao*; it was what Spain had always insisted upon, and never had receded from by any treaty. And lastly, concerning England's evacuating all the usurped settlements on the logwood coasts, it had never been offered, but upon such conditions as were inconsistent with the

the dignity of the Spanish crown to accept of; since the court of London would only consent, that, previous to her sending orders to those unjust settlers to remove, and to cause the fortifications to be demolished, the Catholic King should be compelled to make known to the English, in what manner the logwood was to be assured to the King's subjects, notwithstanding the Spanish monarch had repeatedly given his royal word, a method should be found out for that purpose; and that, till it was adjudged in what manner Great Britain should enjoy that privilege, the English cutters of logwood should continue, without interruption or molestation of any kind, to carry on their commerce upon the footing they at present exercise it. His Catholic Majesty only asking, that, for his own royal decorum, the usurped establishments should be relinquished by the English, to prove that good faith we piqued ourselves upon, and to convince Spain we did not maintain those forcible possessions, as pledges, which sooner or later we imagined would compel the court of Madrid to grant us our own terms, and in the mean time to increase (which the British subjects did daily) the encroachments upon the coasts of Honduras.

This, Sir, to the best of my recollection, is what has been advanced or replied by General Wall at our different interviews. Yet, for greater accuracy, and a fuller explanation of the sentiments of his Excellency,

lency, I desire leave to refer you to the inclosed paper distinguished by the letter (B), which includes the substance of what the secretary of state first spoke from, then read to me, and afterwards gave into my hands; consenting to let me send it to England, not as a memorial, but to be considered in the same light with that paper which I had agreed to give his Excellency, containing some notes, to enable him to represent to his royal master, with candour, what I had been ordered to lay a stress upon; and this was delivered to me with the same view; a proof whereof was, that there was no date to either of our writings, no signature, nor any title prefixed.

At my first conference, I told General Wall I had received the King's commands to desire his Excellency would, in the present conjuncture, give me a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments which had been carried on in various ports of this country; and to ask for an explicit eclaircissement with relation to the destination of the Spanish fleet; as well as to inform myself particularly, from his Excellency, what were the dispositions of the Catholic King to maintain friendship, and to cultivate a good correspondence with his Majesty; alledging, that this measure was judged by England to be the more absolutely necessary at present, as the French emissaries, and the partisans of our enemies were attempting by every method, to propagate the belief of an approaching rupture with Spain, in conjunction

junction with France; therefore the King thought himself strongly called upon, from the indispensable motives of what his Majesty owes to his crown, and to his people, to expect to have a categorical answer to the questions I had put, by his royal command. The last time I saw M. Wall, which was the fifth meeting we had together, I renewed those questions, and then received exactly the same answer which had been given me the first time: That Spain was surprised Great Britain should take umbrage at any naval preparations, she was, or had been making since the accession of his present Catholic Majesty; for, including both the ships of the line, as well as the frigates, the whole number did not exceed in all that of twenty; which M. Wall assured me were, by several, fewer than those which had been equipped during the reign of the late King Ferdinand. His Excellency told me that, with regard to their destination, some were frequently going backwards and forwards between this kingdom and Naples; others were intended to convoy the homeward or outward bound flotas, assogues, or register ships; and the remaining ones were to serve as a check upon the Barbary Corsairs, and to defend their coasts, or smaller vessels from insults: and in relation to the third question, his Catholic Majesty's disposition and professions had invariably been the same, and were ever meant to cement and cultivate,

the

the friendship so happily subsisting between our two courts.

I hope, Sir, it will be found I have minutely obeyed every command I have been honoured with from his Majesty. I am but too conscious of the unreasonable, and (I apprehend) tiresome length of this dispatch, which on account of my frequent interviews with the Spanish minister, and from my unfeigned zeal for the service of my gracious royal master, has insensibly led me on to be as particular as it was possible on so interesting a subject, and in so critical a conjuncture. I wish this narration had proved a more satisfactory one; yet, when the style of General Wall's inclosed paper is compared with that which was given to me last January, I hope it will appear there is less peevishness at present here, than what was so strongly exhibited some months ago. The strong avowal of a most intimate cordiality between Spain and France, contained in his last production of the Spanish secretary of state's, has hurt me. I could not avoid acquainting his Excellency, that it seemed calculated rather to serve as an apology for the proceedings of the court of Versailles, and to be a justification of the conduct of the French ministers, than for any other purpose.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL,

TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION OF A PAPER MARKED A, INCLOSED
IN THE EARL OF BRISTOL'S LETTER OF AUG.
31, 1761.

I. Mons^t. de Buffy having presented to Mr. Pitt a memorial on the part of his court, concerning the discussions of Great Britain with Spain; the King my master ordered his secretary of state to send back the said memorial, as totally inadmissible.

II. It has been told him that France has not had at any time, a right to meddle in our disputes with the court of Madrid.

III. Further, that it would be looked upon as offensive to the King's dignity, and incompatible with the good faith of the negotiation; that further mention should be made of the differences of our courts.

IV. Orders to make remonstrances on the conduct of Spain, who, whilst she lived in good correspondence with England, and has always declared that her intention was to put an end to our long disputes by some amicable arrangement, makes use of such a voice as that of an enemy to convey her grievances to us.

V. Although the King will never hearken to any thing on account of an intimation from a power at war, threatening an union of counsels, and hinting a future war (perhaps not distant on the part of Spain and France); notwithstanding that, his Ma-
jesty,

jesy, from an uniform conduct, and constantly inclined to give every satisfaction to his Catholic Majesty, continues ready amicably to terminate every thing which can occasion the least coolness between the two kingdoms.

VI. With regard to the three articles recited in the memorial as grievances of Spain; I am ordered to say, First, that the courts of justice, established in England to decide causes relative to the restitution of prizes made on the Spaniards, or thought to be in violation of the Catholic King's territory, are always open to all those who bring their complaints thither; and that the ministers of the most Christian King are not acknowledged in England as a tribunal, before which England will consent that an appeal be brought.

VII. As to the second article. The first discovery of the island of Newfoundland, having been proved to have been made at the expence, and on the account of King Henry VII. the uninterrupted possession of that island, by the settlements of the subjects of England ever since the said epoch to this hour, has also been demonstrated: further, Spain having never made any settlement there, and the pretended right of the Biscayners, and Guipuscoans, not being at any time admitted, the King can never consent to the least concession on this article; and flatters himself that Spain will never expect, as the price of an union so much to be wished for by the

two nations, a sacrifice on the part of Great Britain, which can never be agreed to in any shape.

VIII. On the subject of logwood, which makes the third object; his Majesty is constant in his intentions to cause all the settlements, contrary to the territorial jurisdiction of the Catholic King in America, to be evacuated: and will receive with pleasure any just overture on the part of the court Madrid, (provided that it does not pass through the channel of the French ministers) for accommodating our differences, and for putting an end to every complaint, by finding some means for granting logwood to us, without inconvenience to Spain.

TRANSLATION OF A PAPER DELIVERED TO THE
EARL OF BRISTOL BY GENERAL WALL, AT
ST. ILDEFONSO, AUGUST 28, 1761. MARKED (B).

THE memorial which M. de Bussy presented to Mr. Pitt by order of his court, setting forth the desire the most Christian King had to terminate his peace with England, under the guaranty of the Catholic King, and that, at the same time the disputes between the courts of Madrid and London, might in some shape be accommodated, is a step, which his Catholic Majesty will not deny has been taken with his full consent, approbation, and pleasure: however, he will affirm, and does affirm to the court of Great Britain, and to the whole world, that his intention

in consenting thereto, as well as in approving of it, was not to offend the dignity of that crown, or retard its peace; on the contrary, to consolidate it, and, in all human possibility, to perpetuate it. It may have been productive of contrary effects: for, as most actions bear different constructions, this has not received in London the same that was put upon it at Madrid and Paris; and both courts have been concerned at displeasing the King of Great Britain, and indisposing him from continuing the negotiations of a peace with France, and of regulating his differences with Spain, jointly or separately, it is equal to both monarchs, since they have only good in view; though they will never give up England a right, which, without example, it pretends to assume, of hindering the one from interfering in the affairs of the other, for their mutual assistance, as their union, friendship, and relationship require.

Thus the end being explained, which the courts of Madrid and Paris proposed by the delivery of the memorial, the original motive will now be explained with the same sincerity.

There is the greatest harmony between the two courts: and who, in this age, can be surprised there should be that harmony between the Kings of Spain and France! His most Christian Majesty has communicated to his Catholic Majesty, in consequence, all the steps taken to bring about a peace from the very beginning of the war. His Catholic Majesty has acquainted his most Christian Majesty, as often

as there has been occasion, with his affairs at the court of London.

His most Christian Majesty resolved to purchase peace at the dear price of the proposals contained in the plan delivered by the Duke of Choiseul to Mr. Stanley; and one of the motives which induced him to so great a sacrifice was, in order to secure, for many years, the peace of his kingdoms, by satisfying at once the views of the English. And he signified, at the same time to his Catholic Majesty, his desire of cutting short those beginnings of disagreement between him and his British Majesty, on account of his grievances with the court of London, with this kind expression, that, if a rupture ensued between England and Spain, France will have miscarried in the above object of her present sacrifices, as she will be necessitated to assist in defending Spain, and involve herself in a new war. Was the Catholic King to despise so generous an overture? It was not to be expected. Ought England to be surprised at it? As little. It being grounded upon this, that if England saw that France attacked the dominions of Spain, particularly in America, she would run immediately to her defence, for her own conveniency, as well as because she had, equally with France, guaranteed them. Well, what was to be done? Said the two courts, they agreed, that France should declare to England, that, as she was coming to a composition with her, she desired that nothing might

remain, not even a mistrust, of returning to a fresh war; and that she should exhōrt England to terminate her disputes with Spain to their mutual satisfaction, which alone occasioned any doubt.

Both courts thought that France could not take a step that shewed better faith towards England, and there is no doubt but so it appears; without examining why or wherefore it is thought otherwise at London, or in what it offends the dignity of the British monarch. What proceeding more noble can an enemy hold with another than France does to England, in saying, to conclude a peace with England, I yield up this and that; however, at the same time I am resolved to make this sacrifice, I cannot but say, I wish to secure a peace for many years, and therefore should be glad that England would settle with Spain their subjects of disagreement together, because otherwise they may again entangle me in a fresh war.

Yet England finds reason for demonstrating against the conduct of Spain hereupon; expressing that, at a time she is living in good harmony with Spain, and has declared her desire of terminating her long differences by some amicable adjustment, Spain makes use of England's enemy as the channel of her grievances. It is repeated in answer, that Spain only consented that France should take this step, in as much as it appeared not only inoffensive, but, on the contrary, to come more from an honest and sincere

cere friend than an enemy; and that Spain is far from thinking to irritate England. She would not have staid to chuse her time so ill, if views of prudence and moderation had not contained her; and above all, the never-lost hopes of finding justice in the British court.

How many proofs has not Spain already given, of her aiming to obtain a redress of her grievances, without pretending it otherwise than in a friendly manner? Six years ago, the Spanish governors being ordered to oppose the intrusion of foreigners upon the American coasts, an expedition was made to dislodge the English from some new establishments; and the court of London having reclaimed against an offensive method, which happened exactly at the time she was coming to a rupture with France, from whence it might have been inferred that Spain in seizing that conjuncture, sought to straiten England, (then less powerful, and not so sure of her happy successes as at present), the Catholic King commanded, in order to take away all kind of mistrust from England, that those orders should be superseded; and even to restore to the English whatever effects might have been taken from them; and his British Majesty offered to settle these points in a friendly manner. During these same six years, we have not discontinued to solicit, without advancing one day more than the other: and during that time

(who would believe it?) the English have increased their incroached establishment upon that coast.

The King of Spain will say as the King of England does, that he will do nothing on account of the intimation of a hostile power, who threatens an union of councils, and gives to understand a future war; for the Catholic King approves of, and esteems in other monarchs those sentiments of honour he feels himself; and if he had thought that the delivery of the memorial had been construed as an intimation, and a threat, he would never have consented to it. Why has not England made the trial of concluding her peace with France without the guaranty or intervention of Spain, and adjust her differences with Spain without the knowledge of France? and she would have experienced, that their union was not an obstruction, but only tended and tends to live in tranquillity, and shake off all danger with regard to its permanency. With respect to what concerns Spain, it is now repeated, as it has been so many times before, that as the King of Britain, notwithstanding the delivery of the said memorial, was inclined to satisfy the Catholic King, and was ready to terminate, in a friendly manner, whatever might occasion a coolness between the two kingdoms; his Catholic Majesty esteems and corresponds most assuredly with such good purposes. The difficulty consists in the terms. Three articles of grievances were stated, in the memorial, by the court of Madrid

drid against that of London, which has been answered, but not with more compliance than any of the former offices, full of conviction, from the Spanish ambassador in England, have been answered.

With regard to the claim of the injuries against the neutrality in this war, which is one, and about which there is no material stumbling-block; after other things, it is said, That England can never look upon the minister of the most Christian King as a tribunal to which it will consent to carry an appeal; and it cannot be imagined to what purpose. Who ever thought of such an irregularity? Concerning the liberty of the Biscayners and Guipúscans to fish for Bacallao, an absolute negative is given to that right, though it is so well proved: and with respect to evacuating the establishments, it is only offered upon terms inadmissible with the Catholic King's decorum, That before doing it, he should assure to the English the logwood. Hard proceeding certainly, for one to confess, that he is gone into the house of another to take away his jewels; and to say, "I will go out again, but first you shall engage to give me what I went to take." And still harder, when set in opposition with the Bacallao; for the Spaniards want that for their food, as the English want the logwood for their fabrics: yet the English would by force take away the logwood, and hinder by force the Spaniards from taking away the Bacallao. One

would think that the English themselves ought with reluctance to produce such a pretension.

COPY OF A MOST SECRET LETTER FROM THE
EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE EARL OF BRIS-
TOL, DATED OCTOBER 28, 1761,

MY LORD,

IN opening [the first word of this letter informs us, that it is Lord Egremont's *first* letter to Lord Bristol; although he had been in office from the time that Mr. Pitt resigned. Such a delay, at so critical a period, shews the unwillingness of the cabinet to enter upon the Spanish business] my correspondence with your excellency, it gives me great pleasure to be able to inform you, that your letter of the 14th past, wherein you mention, "That M. "Wall has acquainted you that the Catholic King "had, at no time, been more intent on cultivating "a good correspondence with his Majesty, than at "present," having been laid before the King, his Majesty received, with particular satisfaction, such an authentic declaration of the good intentions of his Catholic Majesty; and the King highly approves of the assurances your Excellency gave, in return, to the Spanish Minister, with regard to additional works at Gibraltar: and it is with great pleasure, I can assure your Excellency, that having made proper enquiry into that matter, I find no orders whatsoever have been issued with regard to those fortifications;

tions; and therefore nothing can have been done there, but the usual and necessary repairs.

I am also to inform your Excellency, that the confirmation of the same good dispositions in the court of Spain, manifested by M. Wall's expressing (as reported in your dispatch of the 28th past) their readiness to come to a speedy adjustment with England, upon our evacuating the most recent settlements on the coast of Honduras, only to serve as a salvo to the Spaniards, Pundonor, was considered, by his Majesty, as a happy presage of a speedy and amicable conclusion of all disputes subsisting between the two crowns.

It is judged highly expedient for the King's service, that the court of Spain should, in the present moment, be apprised of the sentiments of that of Great Britain. I am therefore to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty continues to have nothing more at heart, than to cultivate the most cordial friendship with his Catholic Majesty; trusting, however, to find this disposition reciprocal on the part of Spain. Nothing being more evident, than the mutual advantage which must arise to both courts from a state of union and amity: and perhaps experience has shewn, that when, in contradiction to the obvious principles of our common interests, that harmony has been unhappily interrupted, Spain has always been the greatest sufferer.

These being the King's sentiments, his Majesty cannot imagine that the court of Spain should think it unreasonable to desire a communication of the treaty **ACKNOWLEDGED** [*when was this ACKNOWLEDGEMENT made, and to whom? No such fact appears in any of the papers ever laid before Parliament. It is contradicted by the inclosures marked A. B. and D. in Lord Bristol's letter of December 11, 1761. And by Lord Egremont's answer to the Count de Fuentes of December 31, 1761*] to have been lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or of such articles thereof as can, by particular and explicit engagements, immediately relate to the interests of Great-Britain, or, in a more general and distant view of affairs, be any ways construed to affect the same in the present conjuncture, before he enters into farther negotiation on the points depending between the two crowns; which the King conceives may be soon amicably accommodated, if his Catholic Majesty means to bring the same facility on his part, as his Majesty is determined to shew on his, towards the speedy adjustment of that, which seems now to remain the principal, if not the only matter in dispute: for though the King, from his confidence in the repeated assurances of friendship from his Catholic Majesty, is unwilling to suppose that a treaty concluded by him, can contain any thing to the prejudice of Great Britain; yet as the Court of France has affected to give out that Spain was on the point

point of entering into the war; which language has been industriously propagated, and generally with success, in most courts of Europe; his Majesty therefore thinks, that the honour of his crown, and the interest of his people, equally call for an explanation with regard to this already too much credited report, before he can, consistently with his own dignity, proceed in any negotiation with Spain: nor can any fair or candid discussion of the rights or differences of the two courts take place upon a just and equitable footing, should Spain, while she is fully informed of the extent of all his Majesty's alliances and connections, maintain a suspicious and unfriendly reserve, with regard to a treaty recently concluded between her and his Majesty's declared and inveterate enemy; by whom it is openly and industriously asserted, throughout Europe, that the purport thereof is hostile to Great Britain:

I am here to inform your Excellency, that, in my first conference with the Count de Fuentes, I explained this matter fully; but his Excellency avoided entering into it, and seemed to wish that it might be passed through another channel; disclaiming, however, in the strongest manner, any unfriendly intentions of his court. It is therefore the King's pleasure, that your Excellency should use the most pressing instances to M. Wall, to obtain such communication as is above mentioned; and it is hoped, that you will easily convince a Minister so thoroughly

thoroughly acquainted with the nature and constitution of this country, of the importance of this test of friendship, to the support of that desirable harmony between the two courts; and how much a refusal to give due satisfaction on this head, would impede and obstruct his Majesty's best intentions towards that valuable object. It is needless to recommend to your Excellency, to urge this matter in the most polite and friendly terms; gently *infinituating* the above arguments, to shew, that his Majesty ought to be satisfied as to this matter, before he proceed to other points: but on the other hand, your Excellency will give the Spanish minister the strongest assurances, that, this obstacle once removed, his Majesty is most sincerely and cordially disposed to enter into amicable discussion of other matters in dispute; little doubting, but that a confirmed reciprocal confidence would naturally point out expedients to save the honour of both Kings, adjust things to mutual satisfaction, and establish a harmony as permanent as advantageous to both courts. Nor can I more explicitly enforce the King's real sentiments on this head, than by referring your Excellency to your own dispatches, wherein you have made the most conciliating overtures, particularly in that of the 31st of August last, which I cannot more properly express, than in your Excellency's own words, as follows. "Concerning the disputes about the coast of Honduras, I could add nothing to the repeated declarations I had made,

made in the King's name, of the satisfaction with which his Majesty would receive any just overture from Spain (upon condition that France was not to be the channel of that conveyance) for terminating amicably, and to mutual satisfaction, every reasonable complaint on this matter, by proposing some equitable regulation for securing to us the long-enjoyed privilege of cutting logwood (an indulgence confirmed by treaty, and of course authorised in the most sacred manner) nor could I give stronger assurances than the past, of his Majesty's steady purpose to cause all establishments on the logwood coasts, contrary to the territorial jurisdiction of Spain, to be removed;" and should your Excellency see the proper moment for renewing the declarations of the same sort, I am to assure your Excellency of his Majesty's approbation therein.

In order to prevent any perverse impressions, which Mr. Pitt's retiring from public business, at this juncture, might occasion, it is proper that I should assure your Excellency, that the measures of government will suffer no relaxation on that account; on the contrary, I may venture to promise, that the idea suggested by some malevolent persons at home, and perhaps industriously propagated abroad, of the whole spirit of the war subsiding with him, instead of discouraging, will only tend to animate the present ministry to a more vigorous exertion of their powers, to avoid every possible imputation of inde-

cision

cision or indolence, which ignorant people might suggest: and the example of the spirit of the late measures, will be a spur to his Majesty's servants to persevere and to stretch every nerve of this country, towards forcing the enemy to come into a safe, honourable, and, above all, a lasting peace. I further have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that the most perfect harmony, mutual confidence and unanimity, now reigns in his Majesty's councils: with a thorough determination to push the war with such vigour, as will, it is hoped, under the hand of Providence, procure still farther successes to the just cause for which this country drew the sword. The King, at the same time, continues to be disposed, with equal moderation, to put an end to the dreadful calamities of war, the moment the enemy will listen to such terms of peace as shall be consistent with his Majesty's honour in some degree adequate to the successes of his arms, and calculated, by promising permanency, to preserve mankind from the various distresses and miseries, which have been so fatally experienced during the course of this cruel and bloody war.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT,

COPY

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE EARL OF BRISTOL, DATED OCT. 28; 1761. SECRET AND CONFIDENTIAL.

MY LORD,

I AM to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty does not think proper to confine you, as to the mode of opening yourself to Mr. Wall, on the important subject of this dispatch; or to prescribe whether you are to communicate the substance of it verbally, or to trust the whole, or any part thereof, out of your hands; your Excellency's experience of that minister will, no doubt, suggest to you the degree of compliment and confidence which is most likely to succeed, and which is, for that reason, entirely left to your discretion.

I am further to inform your Excellency, for your private direction, That, in case you should find insuperable objections to such a communication as is expected in my most secret letter of this date, and that, in lieu thereof, it should be proposed to give his Majesty solemn assurances of the innocence of the treaty in question with respect to the King's interests; in such case, your Excellency is *not totally* to reject the alternative, but to take it *ad referendum* to be transmitted to your court: provided always, That the said assurances be given upon his Catholic Majesty's royal word, signified in writing, either

either by the Spanish secretary of state to your Excellency, or by the Conde de Fuentes to the King's secretary of state here, and not otherwise.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT, DATED ESCURIAL, Nov. 2, 1761. RECEIVED Nov. 14.

MY LORD,

THE surprising change I have of late perceived in General Wall's discourse, and the unlooked for alteration of that minister's sentiments, with regard to the present situation of this country, has determined me to dispatch the messenger Potter to England, that your Lordship may be thoroughly informed of the haughty language now held by this court; so different from all the former professions made to me by the Catholic King's commands, and so diametrically opposite to the most solemn and repeated declarations I had received from the Spanish secretary of state, of a thorough resolution to maintain a perfect harmony and good correspondence between the two kingdoms, so requisite for their mutual interest and reciprocal felicity.

Such strong reports of an approaching rupture between Great-Britain and Spain, grounded upon several authentic assurances I had received, that some agreement had been settled and signed between their

Catholic

Catholic and most Christian Majesties, determined me to enquire minutely into this affair; and therefore, I took an opportunity of mentioning to Mr. Wall, that notwithstanding the frequent, and even late declarations he had made to me, concerning the pacific inclinations of Spain, yet I could not conceal the uneasiness it gave me, to hear from all parts, both within these kingdoms, and from other countries, that a treaty had not long since been concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, and therefore I desired his Excellency would satisfy my doubts, by informing me whether there was any ground for these rumours; and in case it were possible, after all that had passed between us, for such a convention as was hinted at, to have been concluded; then I hoped to be told of what nature this treaty was, whether offensive or singly defensive, what were the principal conditions contained in it, and with what views this sudden and close union between Spain and France had been calculated: for I could neither hear such reports with indifference, nor give credit to the truth of them, without an explicit avowal thereof from his Excellency's mouth.

Instead of answering me directly, General Wall began, by saying, that the King his master had reason to think the conduct of England unwarrantable; for his Catholic Majesty never could obtain an answer from the British ministry, to any memorial or paper that was sent from hence; either by the channel

nel of the Count of Fuentes, or through my hands: he told me, we were intoxicated with all our successes, and a continued series of victories had elated us so far, as to induce us to contemn the reasonable concessions France had consented to make us for a peace: but that it was evident, by our refusal of the Duc de Choiseul's proposals, all we aimed at was, to crush Spain, to drive all the subjects of the Christian King, not only from their island colonies in the new world, but also to destroy their several forts and settlements upon the continent of North America, to have an easier task in seizing on all the Spanish dominion in those parts, thereby to satisfy the utmost of our ambition, and to gratify our unbounded thirst of conquest.

After M. Wall had worked up his anger to a height I had never before seen, he then said, with uncommon warmth, That he would himself be the man to advise the King of Spain, since his dominions were to be overwhelmed, at least to have them seized with arms in his subjects' hands, and not to continue the passive victim he had hitherto appeared to be in the eyes of the world. I attended to this discourse, without interrupting the thread of it; and, at the conclusion of it, I desired, with the utmost serenity, of General Wall, to give me an answer to the questions I had first started, and we would afterwards proceed to discuss what his Excellency had been expatiating upon. But the Spanish minister only renewed

newed some of his former exclamations, by insisting, that we had set the Spanish power at defiance during this war; that we had attacked and plundered their vessels, insulted their coasts, violated the neutrality of the kingdoms, encroached upon the territorial jurisdiction of his Catholic Majesty's dominions in America, by fortifying ourselves in an illegal manner in the bay of Campeachy and the gulph of Honduras, erecting fresh settlements, and seizing on logwood in a most arbitrary manner; besides denying the Spaniards a right, they had so long claimed, to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; nay, even wanting to put the Biscayners and Guipuscoans on a worse footing at present, with regard to their pretensions to the Bacallas trade, than they had been by the treaties of Utrecht and that of 1721, where the article in relation to them was, That those Spaniards should enjoy *quæ jure sibi vindicare poterunt*: whereas all my instructions had run to declare their claim to be stale and inadmissible; and finally, to assert that England hoped the Catholic King would never expect this sacrifice as the price of a union, which would never be consented to on those terms.

General Wall went on; by saying, He perceived he had in vain given hopes to his royal master, that a proper attention would be paid to the Spanish demands, and justice be granted to atone for the repeated grievances of his Catholic Majesty's subjects; yet he wanted to know where, when, and how it

was to be expected, since we shewed no regard to this country, which had hitherto withstood all the advantageous offers made by France to enter into the present war.

Notwithstanding this second digression of his Excellency's, I did not desist from my point, but renewed my former questions, by alledging, that the business I came about, was to receive some explicit answer to what I had before enquired after. At last, General Wall replied, he had no orders to acquaint me with any measures but what he had formerly communicated to me, and signified his not being at liberty to say any more; but said, M. de Fuentes had wrote word in his letter of the 2d past, that a courier was to be sent to me, and whenever the contents of those dispatches were communicated to him (M. Wall) then I should be acquainted with the resolutions of Spain; for his Catholic Majesty did not doubt of my receiving instructions relative to the Spanish paper I had transmitted in my letter of the 31st of August.

It was evident, by the disposition the secretary of state was in during this whole conference, that I should at that time gain no ground by any further enquiries into what I wanted to be instructed in. I therefore broke off here; and after having paid my court, as usual, with the rest of the Ambassadors, to his Catholic Majesty, I returned in about an hour to the office, under pretence of shewing an attention

tion I always pay to General Wall, when I intend sending off a messenger, which was, to desire his Excellency would honour me with any commands he might have for England, either of a public or private nature. As our conversation in general had been too interesting (whilst a part of it was so mysterious) for me to send home an exact account of all that had passed, by a safe conveyance; I let this drop, in order to remove the former topic, and, by so doing, endeavour to procure a little more insight into this mysterious business.

The Spanish minister began in his former strain, but multiplied the appearance of his country's grievances: talked of its being time to open their eyes, and not to suffer a neighbour, an ally, a parent, and a friend, any longer to run the risque of receiving such rigid laws, as were prescribed by an insulting victor: his Excellency told me, the court of Versailles, after having communicated to the Catholic King, every the most minute step taken during Mr. Stanley's negotiations at Paris, and M. de Buffy's conferences at London, had determined to publish to the whole world, the mortifying terms France had brought itself to submit to for the sake of peace; and to make known the arbitrary unreasonable demands of England, which frustrated the good intentions of his most Christian King; whose humanity had made him consent to put an end to the war, even at the dear price of yielding so much as

he had brought himself to agree to, in order, if possible, to satisfy the ambition of Great-Britain.

I thought I had sufficiently listened to all these accusations, and that a longer silence would be reproachful. I must confess, the allegations mentioned by Mr. Wall in the first conference, were so unexpected to me, on account of their differing so widely from all prior conversations on those subjects, that I thought it more prudent then, only to attend to what his Excellency asserted, and afterwards, by a short absence from his closet, endeavour to recollect the substance of what had been advanced, that I might be the better enabled to answer, though, I feared, not to convince, the Spanish minister.

I began, by expressing my surprise, that, when I came to be informed of a step so publicly discoursed of in the world, I could not obtain the satisfaction I solicited from one, who alone could clear my doubts, and solve my questions: that all I had been able to find out was, that it seemed determined to keep me in the dark; and, in order to divert my attention from the single point I wanted to be instructed in, I had only heard a complicated heap of grievances, flung out with a view to deter me from persevering in the pursuit of getting my curiosity satisfied. Upon that I went methodically, through the various subjects that had been started by the Spanish secretary of state, insisting on the first discovery, and a continued possession of the New-
for indland

foundland fishery, by the King's subjects; whereas the Spaniards had never brought any proofs to back their own assertions to a claim to that fishery, whilst we had clearly deduced our right from the time of Henry VII.

With regard to the logwood trade; a constant enjoyment of it for about a century, having been confirmed to us by treaties under the denominations of an indulgence or suffrancce, made it a legal commodity: but as to all usurped settlements, I had often been ordered to declare the King's readiness to have them evacuated, when an equitable regulation was settled, between the two courts, for our quiet possession of that valuable branch of commerce.

Then, as to the several complaints of breaches of neutrality, pretended confiscations of goods, unlawful seizures of Spanish vessels, and all the various blended grievances I had heard of; I could only answer, in general, that our courts of law were open to all complaints, and though parties might go from thence dissatisfied, yet the justice of those courts of judicature had never been impeached.

In relation to England's views of forcing our enemies to agree to such terms, as we thought might insure our nation from the apprehensions of a future war; I desired to know, what instance there was of any country's not endeavouring to obtain the most advantageous conditions for itself at a peace, especially when Providence had vouchsafed to bless a

righteous cause with success: this was the case of Great Britain; we were bound by strong engagements to support our allies, and insisted on being at liberty to fulfil those engagements according to the extent of them; whilst we determined to settle our empire in America upon such a footing, as should free our colonies there from encroachments, and not leave them to be liable to a repetition of such chicanes from the French, as had caused the beginning of those disturbances, which had afterwards extended themselves into Europe.

This was the sum of my discourse; and when I recurred to my repeated instances for information concerning the treaty, all that I could, with difficulty, extort from General Wall, was, that his Catholic Majesty had judged it expedient to renew his family compacts (those were the express words) with the most Christian King. I begged to know when those compacts had been agreed upon: and at what time, whether very lately, or some months ago, they had received a fresh sanction. Here the Spanish minister stopt short, and, as if he had gone beyond what he intended, he said, that the Count de Fuentes and M. Buffy had declared to his Majesty's Ministers, that all was meant to be communicated to them; and although I continued in the closet some short time after that declaration, as I found I was to expect nothing but a repetition of the same answer to every question I put, I determined to retire.

This,

This, my Lord, is the result of my enquiries, and here the business rests at present.

Two ships have lately arrived at Cádiz, with very extraordinary rich cargoes, from the West Indies; so that all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America, is now safe in Old Spain; perhaps this circumstance has raised the language of the Catholic King's ministers, added to the progress, which, we hear, the French army is making in the King's electoral dominions, and the success that has attended the Austrian operations in Silesia. I have long observed the jealousy of Spain at the British conquests; and am now convinced, that the consciousness of this country's naval inferiority, has occasioned the soothing declarations, so repeatedly made, of a desire to maintain harmony and friendship with England: but the French have never discontinued their flatteries, whilst they solicited a junction of forces, assuring the Spaniards, that even the signing an alliance between their Sovereigns, would intimidate our court, not only upon account of our being exhausted by the present long and expensive war, but by our having felt the fatal consequences of an interruption of our Spanish trade during the last war.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL,

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF BRISTOL
TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT, DATED ESCU-
RIAL, Nov. 9, 1761. RECEIVED DEC. 3.

MY LORD,

ACCOUNTS have lately been transmitted to me, from several ports of Spain, in relation to the military preparation going forward in this kingdom: and the whole discourse runs upon an approaching rupture between the King and his Catholic Majesty.

Two Spanish ships of war are immediately to sail from Cadiz; the one to convoy the Assogues, and the other to protect several Dutch vessels freighted with ammunition stores, bound to Cartagena in America.

Eleven large ships of the line, now laying at Ferrol, are rigged, manned, and ready to put to sea at a short warning, together with two frigates; one of which is bound to the South Seas, with cannon balls, powder, and many other implements of war.

By advices from Barcelona I hear, that two of the Catholic King's ships of war sailed from thence, the end of last month, with two large barks under their convoy, loaded with 3500 barrels of gunpowder, 1500 bomb shells, 500 chests of arms, and a considerable quantity of cannon balls of different dimensions: which cargo, it is imagined, is destined for the Spanish West Indies; many more warlike stores are ready to be shipped from Catalonia; and

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it was reported an embargo was laid on large barks at Barcelona for that purpose.

Five battalions of different regiments of infantry, and two squadrons of dragoons are at Cadiz, waiting their final orders to embark for America; this corps makes in all about 3600 men.

I have desired his Majesty's consuls would be very attentive to all that is going forward in the several places where they reside; and that they would not fail sending me constant accounts of what they observed, in order for my being more particular in my intelligence to your Lordship.

I never see General Wall, to talk upon business, but that he expatiates upon the haughtiness, with which Great Britain has long treated the crown of Spain; as if we imagined, by that means to intimidate this country from pursuing its claims; or that we should thereby avoid doing justice to the Catholic King, concerning our ill grounded settlements upon the logwood coasts, as well as with regard to our denying the Spanish subjects the liberty of fishing upon the Newfoundland coasts.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT, DATED MADRID, Nov. 16, 1761. RECEIVED DEC. 8.

MY LORD,

The military preparations in this kingdom, are very far from slackening. Sixteen hundred men, draughts from different corps of infantry, with several officers, entered the town of Ferrol the beginning of this month: they were expected to embark shortly for the West Indies, and are to be escorted by three ships of the line.

A regiment of foot is lately gone to Majorca, and another has orders to hold itself in readiness to be sent to the same island.

The Spaniards have, at present, including all their naval force in America, nineteen ships of war in those seas: I have heard various accounts of the number of frigates which attend that West India fleet, but I believe there are not fewer than sixteen of different sizes.

What may be the ultimate resolution of this court, no one can, as yet, pretend entirely to determine; but it is certain, his Catholic Majesty is taking every measure, which can put him in a condition to be prepared for all events. It is difficult to attain at the real truth of any of the Spanish projects; for where one man only is consulted, secrecy and expedition must naturally attend the execution of their designs.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL,

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF EGREMONT TO THE EARL OF BRISTOL, DATED DECEMBER 22, 1761.

MY LORD,

I AM to acquaint your Excellency, that it is reported in the city, that part of Admiral Holmes's squadron has lately seized some Spanish barks at Monte Christi, laden with sugar, &c. and has treated them as if they were legal prize.

Though this intelligence is hitherto unsupported by any information which our most diligent enquiries can collect at the Admiralty, or elsewhere, yet I had the King's permission to speak of it to the Conde de Fuentes, and to express his Majesty's concern upon hearing it; to which I added his Majesty's assurances, that this matter shall be most strictly enquired into; and, should the facts alledged prove true, not a moment shall be lost in taking such steps, as it is not doubted, will thoroughly satisfy his Catholic Majesty with regard to the unjustifiable and unauthorised conduct of any of his servants upon this occasion: and that nothing might be omitted which could lead to a speedy and thorough knowledge of this matter, the King has ordered a ship of war to be immediately dispatched to the West Indies, with directions, to make the strictest examination into the foundation for this report, that such further steps may be taken as the case shall appear to require.

It

It is in order to prevent the malicious use which might be made of this unlucky accident, and to shew his Majesty's readiness to do the strictest justice to the Catholic King, that I am directed to transmit to your Excellency, without loss of time, the real state of this affair; not doubting but your Excellency, without any particular directions on this head, will, at this critical conjuncture, let M. Wall see, in a true light, and in its full extent, that it is not more the invariable and steady principle of his Majesty's conduct towards the crown of Spain, to support his own dignity and the just rights of his subjects, than it is, not only to redress a real injury done to his Catholic Majesty's subjects, but even to prevent a complaint,

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE EARL OF EGREMONT, DATED MADRID, DEC. 11, 1761. RECEIVED DEC. 24.

MY LORD,

THIS is the only method I am allowed to take, to communicate to your Lordship my intention of setting out as soon as possible for Lisbon. I have obeyed the King's commands. By the paper marked (A), your Lordship sees the substance of what was mentioned at my first conference with General Wall; by that with the letter (B), what passed at our second interview:

interview: copies of both which papers the Spanish minister desired he might have. These conferences were the 6th and 8th instant. General Wall, on the 10th at night, sent me two letters, one an office-copy and translation of which are distinguished C and D; the other by a private letter in his own hand. I had prepared some very long dispatches for your Lordship, relating all particulars, but I was denied post-horses to send a messenger, even to ask for passports from the court of Portugal; and M. de Llanos, who is just gone from me, has owned, in the most polite terms, that I could not, by any method, send any person whatever to any part of Spain, for I know I am surrounded with their spies. I would, if it were possible for me, set out immediately for the frontiers of Portugal, the nearest town of which kingdom is 240 miles from hence; and such are the roads, that no carriage can go it under nine days; but I am at this moment and have been for so long, so excessively out of order, that, were I to attempt going from hence even so soon as I could get mules, which all those who furnish them seem to try to delay my doing, my deplorable situation is such, that I should be forced to stop at some village near Madrid, without being able to get forward: however, I have tried at a method I do not mention, for fear of this letter being decyphered, to convey the whole intelligence to Admiral Saunders, General Parflow, and the Consuls.

Mr.

Mr. Porten, seeing how ill I am, has promised to set out forthwith for Lisbon; and by him I shall be able to have the letters forwarded which I have now ready. I propose dispatching a messenger when I do get into Portugal; with a great number of letters for your Lordship. The messenger being to set out so soon, I have not time to add more.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL.

COPY OF NOTES GIVEN TO GENERAL WALL, AT
OUR FIRST CONFERENCE, THE 6TH OF DECEMBER, 1761. (A.)

COUNT of Fuentes accompanied the Catholic King's letter to his Majesty, with the strongest professions of frierdship from Spain.

The King's particular delicacy, in concerting military plans, to avoid any hostilities towards objects that could give umbrage to his Catholic Majesty.

An answer concerning the treaty: as well as to know the intention of Spain with regard to Great Britain.

Nothing could more essentially give real satisfaction to his Majesty, than my procuring such an answer, as might contribute to the continuation of that friendly intercourse, which it is not more the interest of both crowns to maintain, than it is the King's sincere desire to cultivate.

COPY

COPY OF NOTES WRÖTE DOWN IN THE CLOSET
OF GENERAL WALL, AND GIVEN BY ME TO
HIS EXCELLENCY, TUESDAY THE 8TH OF DE-
CEMBER, THE DAY OF OUR SECOND CONFE-
RENCE. (B.)

WHETHER the court of Madrid intends to join the French our enemies, to act hostilely against Great Britain? or to depart, in any manner, from its neutrality? [Here the negotiation ends, with coming back to the demand which Mr. Pitt made, in the last paragraph but one, of his letter; dated the twenty-eighth of July, 1761.]

A categorical answer is expected to those questions; otherwise a refusal to comply will be looked upon as an aggression, on the part of Spain, and a declaration of war.

(C) Was not laid before Parliament, being the original Spanish of (D).

GENERAL WALL, B. RETIRO, 10TH DEC. 1761.
TRANSLATION. (D.) MOST EXCELLENT LORD;

MY LORD,

YOUR Excellency having expressed to me, the day before yesterday, and being even pleased to put in writing, That you had orders to ask a positive and categorical answer to the question, If Spain thought of joining herself with France against England? Declaring, at the same time, that you should look

look upon the refusal as a declaration of war; and that you would, in consequence, leave this court. The spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the King's dignity. Your Excellency may think of retiring when, and in what manner, it is convenient to you; which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his Majesty has ordered me to give you.

Buen Retiro, 10 Dec. 1761.

Most excellent Lord,

I kiss your Excellency's hands.

Your obedient servant,

Don RICARDO WALL.

TRANSLATION OF A NOTE DELIVERED TO THE
EARL OF EGREMONT, BY THE COUNT DE FUEN-
TES, DEC. 25, 1761.

THE Count de Fuentes, the Catholic King's ambassador to his Britannic Majesty, has just received a courier from his court, by whom he is informed, that my Lord Bristol, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the court of Madrid, has said to his Excellency M. Wall, minister of state, That he had orders to demand a positive and categorical answer to this question, *viz.* If Spain thinks of allying herself with France against England? and to declare,

declare, at the same time, he should take a refusal to his demand for an aggression and declaration of war; and that he should, in consequence, be obliged to retire from the court of Spain. The above minister of state answered him, That such a step could only be suggested by the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns but too much in the British Government: That it was in that very moment that the war was declared, and the King's dignity violently attacked: That he might retire how and when he should think proper.

The Count de Fuentes is, in consequence, ordered to leave the court and the dominions of England; and to declare to the British King, to the English nation, and to the whole universe, That the horrors into which the Spanish and English nations are going to plunge themselves, must be attributed *only to the pride and to the unmeasurable ambition, of him* [this is another compliment paid to Mr. Pitt, by another Spanish minister] *who has held the reins of government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand:* That if his Catholic Majesty excused himself from answering on the treaty in question, between his Catholic Majesty, and his most Christian Majesty, which is believed to have been signed the 15th of August, and wherein it is pretended there are conditions relative to England, he had very good reasons; First, The King's dig-

nity required him to manifest his just resentment of the little management, or to speak more properly, of the insulting manner, with which all the affairs of Spain have been treated during Mr. Pitt's administration; who, finding himself convinced of the justice which supported the King in his pretensions, his ordinary and last answer was, That he would not relax in any thing, till the Tower of London was taken sword in hand.

Besides, his Majesty was much shocked to hear the haughty and imperious tone, with which the contents of the treaty were demanded of him. If the respect due to his royal Majesty, had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty; the ministers of Spain might have said frankly to those of England, what the Count de Fuentes, by the King's express orders, declares publicly, *viz.* That the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing which has the least relation to the present war: That there is in it an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two Sovereigns; but it is specified therein, that that guaranty is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France, after the present war shall be ended: That although his Catholic Majesty might have had reason to think himself offended, by the irregular manner in which the memorial was returned to M. de Bussy, minister of France, which he had presented, for terminating

minating the differences of France and England; at the same time with the war between this last and France, he has however dissembled; and from an effect of his love of peace; caused a memorial to be delivered to my Lord Bristol, wherein it evidently demonstrated, that the step of France, which put the minister Pitt into so bad humour, did not at all offend either the laws of neutrality, or the sincerity of the two Sovereigns: That further, from a fresh proof of his pacific spirit, the King of Spain wrote to the King of France, his cousin, That if the union of interest, in any manner retarded the peace with England, he consented to separate himself from it, not to put an obstacle to so great an happiness: But it was soon seen that this was only a pretence; on the part of the English minister: For, that of France, continuing his negotiation, without making any mention of Spain, and proposing conditions very advantageous and honourable for England, the minister Pitt, to the great astonishment of the universe; rejected them with disdain; and shewed, at the same time, his ill-will against Spain, to the scandal of the same British council; and unfortunately he has succeeded but too far in his pernicious design.

This declaration made; the Count de Fuentes desires his Excellency; my Lord Egremont, to present his most humble respects to his Britannic Majesty; and to obtain for him passports, and all other facilities, for him, his family, and all his retinue, to go

out of the dominions of Great Britain, without any trouble, and to go by the short passage of the sea, which separates them from the continent.

TRANSLATION OF THE ANSWER TO THE COUNT
DE FUENTES, BY THE EARL OF EGREMONT,
DEC. 31, 1761.

THE Earl of Egremont, his Britannic Majesty's secretary of state, having received from his Excellency the Count de Fuentes, ambassador of the Catholic King at the court of London, a paper, in which, besides the notification of his recall, and the demand of the necessary passports to go out of the King's dominions, he has thought proper to enter into what has just passed between the two courts, with a view to make that of London appear as the source of all the misfortunes which may ensue from the rupture which has happened. In order that nobody may be misled, by the declaration which his Excellency has been pleased to make to the King, to the English nation, and to the whole universe; notwithstanding the insinuation, as void of foundation as of decency, of the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which his Excellency pretends reigns in the British government, to the misfortune of mankind; and, notwithstanding the irregularity and indecency of appealing to the English nation, as if it could be separated from its King, for whom the most determined sentiments of love, of duty, and

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of confidence, are engraved in the hearts of all his subjects; the said Earl of Egremont, by his Majesty's order, laying aside, in this answer, all spirit of declamation, and of harshness, avoiding every offensive word, which might hurt the dignity of Sovereigns, without stooping to invectives against private persons, will confine himself to facts with the most scrupulous exactness: and it is from this representation of facts, that he appeals to all Europe, and to the whole universe, for the purity of the King's intentions, and for the sincerity of the wishes his Majesty has not ceased to make, as well as for the moderation he has always shewed, though in vain, for the maintenance of friendship and good understanding between the British and Spanish nations.

The King having received undoubted informations, That the court of Madrid had secretly contracted engagements with that of Versailles, which the ministers of France laboured to represent, in all the courts of Europe, as offensive to Great Britain; and combining these appearances with the step which the court of Spain had, a little time before, taken towards his Majesty, in avowing its consent, (though that avowal had been followed by apologies) to the memorial presented the 23d of July, by the Sieur de Buffy, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian King, to the King's secretary of state; and his Majesty having afterwards received intelligence, scarce

admitting a doubt, of troops marching, and of military preparations making in all the ports of Spain, judged that his dignity, as well as his prudence, required him to order his ambassador at the court of Madrid, by a dispatch, dated the 28th of October, to demand, in terms, the most measured, however, the most amicable, a communication of the treaty recently concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or, at least, of the articles which might relate to the interest of Great Britain; And, in order to avoid every thing which could be thought to imply the least slight of the dignity, or even the delicacy, of his Catholic Majesty, the Earl of Bristol was authorised to content himself with assurances, in case the Catholic King offered to give any, that the said engagements did not contain any thing that was contrary to the friendship which subsisted between the two crowns, or that was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, supposing that any difficulty was made, of shewing the treaty. The King could not give a less equivocal proof of his dependance on the good faith of the Catholic King, than in shewing him an unbounded confidence in so important an affair, and which so essentially interested his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the happiness of his people.

How great then was the King's surprise, when instead of receiving the just satisfaction which he had a right to expect, he learnt from his ambassador, that, having

having addressed himself to the minister of Spain, for that purpose, he could only draw from him a refusal, to give a satisfactory answer to his Majesty's just requisitions, which he had accompanied with terms that breathed nothing but haughtiness, animosity, and menace, and which seemed so strongly to verify the suspicions of the unamiable disposition of the court of Spain, that nothing less than his Majesty's moderation, and his resolution taken to make all the efforts possible, to avoid the misfortunes inseparable from a rupture, could determine him to make a last trial, by giving orders to his ambassador, to address himself to the minister of Spain, to desire him to inform him of the intentions of the court of Madrid, towards that of Great Britain, in this conjuncture, if they had taken engagements, or formed the design to join the King's enemies in the present war, or to depart in any manner from the neutrality they had hitherto observed; and to make that minister sensible, that, if they persisted in refusing all satisfaction, on demands so just, so necessary, and so interesting, the King could not but consider such a refusal as the most authentic avowal, that Spain had taken her part, and that there only remained for his Majesty, to take the measures, which his royal prudence should dictate, for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the prosperity and protection of his people; and to recall his ambassador.

Unhappily for the public tranquillity, for the interest of the two nations, and for the good of mankind, this last step was as fruitless as the preceding ones: the Spanish minister, keeping no further measures, answered drily, "That it was in that very moment, that the war was declared, and the King's dignity attacked, and that the Earl of Bristol might retire, how, and when, he should think proper."

And in order to set in its true light, the declaration, "That, if the respect due to his Catholic Majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty; and that the ministers of Spain might have said frankly, as M. de Fuentes, by the King's express order, declares publicly, That the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon; wherein there is nothing which has the least relation to the present war; and that the guaranty, which is therein specified, is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France after the war." It is declared, that very far from thinking of being wanting to the respect acknowledged to be due to crowned heads, the instructions given to the Earl of Bristol have always been, to make the requisitions on the subject of the engagements between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, with all the decency, and all the attention possible; and the demand of a categorical answer was not made, till after repeated and the most stinging refusals to give the least satisfaction,

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and at the last extremity. Therefore, if the court of Spain ever had the design to give this so necessary satisfaction, they had not the least reason that ought to have engaged them to defer it to the moment when it could no longer be of use. But, fortunately, the terms in which the declaration is conceived, spare us the regret of not having received it sooner; for it appears, at first sight, that the answer is not at all conformable to the demand. We wanted to be informed, If the court of Spain intended to join the French, our enemies, to make war on Great Britain; or to depart from their neutrality? Whereas the answer concerns one treaty only, which is said to be of the 15th of August; carefully avoiding to say the least word that could explain, in any manner, the intentions of Spain towards Great Britain, or the further engagements they may have contracted in the present crisis.

After a deduction as exact as faithful of what has passed between the two courts, it is left to the impartial public to decide, which of the two has always been inclined to peace, and which was determined on war.

As to the rest, the Earl of Egremont has the honour to acquaint his Excellency the Count de Fuentes, by the King's order, That the necessary passports for him shall be expedited; and that they will not fail to procure him all possible facilities for his passage to the port which he shall think most convenient.

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THE FOLLOWING ANECDOTE WAS PUBLISHED IN ALL THE PUBLIC PRINTS, ABOUT A YEAR AFTER MR. PITT'S RESIGNATION.

"THE King of Prussia, by means of Lord Chatham, obtained the pardon of George Keith, Lord Mareschal of Scotland, from the late King George. Lord Chatham improved upon this; and as Lord Mareschal was well known to the grandees of Spain, and they believed him to be in their interest; as at that time he was the Prussian minister at that court, they communicated the Family compact to him, and he, as in duty bound to his new Sovereign, communicated the same to Lord Chatham, then Mr. Secretary Pitt. This alludes to Lord Chatham's being *certainly apprized of the secret*. When his Lordship proposed the seizing the galleons, he was opposed in council, and sneered at by Lord Bute in particular; and being questioned concerning his information, he with reluctance, shewed the letters from Lord Mareschal. Upon which the late Lord Hardwicke observed, that a halter was once round that nobleman's neck, but now more sure; alluding to his returning to Spain, where they would put him to death. Lord Mareschal was then on shipboard at Portsmouth, on his way to Spain; Lord Egremont wrote to him upon which he returned and went, by the way of Holland, to his government at Neuf Chattel, without going to Spain, where he has ever been

been since; the end proved the information true, and that Lord Chatham's plan was what ought to have been adopted."

Whatever truth there may be in the above anecdote, it is certain, that Mr. Stanley, while at Paris, in the year 1760, where the Family Compact was negotiated, transmitted to Mr. Pitt a tolerable good account of it; and a *complete copy* of that part which most materially affected Great Britain. He left Paris, as may be seen by the papers relative to the negotiation, on the 20th of September.

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TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM M. BOUGAINVILLE, MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

SIR,

THE honours paid, during your ministry, to the memory of M. Wolfe, give me room to hope that you will not disapprove of the grateful efforts made by the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The corpse of that General, who was honoured with the regret of your nation, is buried at Quebec. I have the honour to send you an epitaph which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres have wrote for him: and I would beg the favour of you, Sir, to read it over, and if there be nothing improper in it, to procure

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me a permission to send it to Quebec, engraved in marble; to put over the Marquis de Montcalm's tomb. If this permission should be granted, may I presume, Sir, to entreat the honour of a line to acquaint me with it, and at the same time to send me a passport, that the engraved marble may be received on board an English vessel, and that Mr. Murray, governor of Quebec, may give leave to have it put up in the Ursuline church. I ask pardon, Sir, for taking off your attention, even for a moment from your important concerns: but to endeavour to immortalise great men and illustrious citizens, is to do honour to you.

I am, &c.

BOUGANVILLE,

Paris, March 24, 1761.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER.

SIR,

It is a real satisfaction to me to send you the King's consent on such an interesting subject, as the very handsome epitaph drawn by the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris for the Marquis de Montcalm, which is desired to be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be set up on the tomb of that illustrious warrior. The noble sentiments expressed in the desire to pay this tribute to the memory of their General, by the French troops who served in Canada, and who saw him fall at their head, in a manner worthy of him, and worthy of them, cannot be too much applauded.

I shall

I shall take a pleasure, Sir, in facilitating a design so full of respect to the deceased; and as soon as I am informed of the measures taken for embarking the marble, I shall immediately grant the passport you desire, and send orders to the Governor of Canada for its reception.

As to the rest, be assured, Sir, that I have a just sense of the obliging things said to me in the letter with which you honoured me, and that I think it a singular happiness to have an opportunity to express those sentiments of distinguished esteem and consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

April 10, 1761.

W. PITF.

The Inscription is as follows.

HIC JACET,

Utroque in orbe æternum victurus,
Ludovicus Josephus de MONTCALM GOZON,
Marchio Sancti Verani, Baro Gabriaci,
Ordinis Sancti Ludovici commendator,
Legatus generalis exercituum Gallicorum;

Egregius et cives et miles;
Nullius rei appetens, præterquam veræ laudis;
Ingenio felici et litteris exculto
Omnes militiae gradus per continua decora emensus,
Omnium belli artium, temporum, discriminum
gnarus,
In Italia, in Bohemia, in Germania
dux industrius,

Mandata

Mandata sibi ita semper gerens ut majoribus
par haberetur;
Jam clarus périculis
Ad tutandam Canadensem provinciam missus;
Parvā militū manū hostium copias non semel
repulit;
Propugnacula cepit viis armisque instruētissima;
Algoris, īnediæ, vigiliarum, laboris patiens,
Suis ūnice prespiciens, immemor suī:
Hostis acer, vīctor manfuetus,
Fortunam virtute, virium inopia in peritia et
celeritate compensavit:
Imminens coloniæ fatum et confilio et manu per
quadriennium sustinuit,
Tandem ingentem exercitum duce strenuo et
audaci,
Classemque omni bellorum moli gravem,
Multiplici prudentia diu ludificatus,
Vi pertractus ad dimicandum
In primâ acie, in primo conflitu, vulneratus;
Religioni, quam semper coluerat, innitens,
Magno suorum desiderio, nec sine hostiūm
mōrōre, extintus est
Die xiv Septem. A D. MDCCLIX. ætat. XLVIII.
Mortales optimi ducis exuvias in excavatā humo,
Quam globus bellicus decidens dissiliensque
defoderat,
Galli lugentes deposuerunt,
Et generosæ hostium fidei commendārunt.

TRANSLATION.

TRANSLATION.

Here lieth,

In either Hemisphere to live for ever,
LEWIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,
Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gabriac,
Commandatory of the Order of St. Lewis,
Lieutenant General of the French Army.
Not less an excellent Citizen than Soldier ;
Who knew no Desire but that of true Glory ;
Happy in a natural Genius improved by
Literature.

Having gone through the several Steps of
military Honours

With uninterrupted Lustre,
Skill'd in all the Arts of War,
The Juncture of Times, and the Crisis of Dangers ;
In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,
An indefatigable General ;

He so discharged his important Trusts ;
That he seemed always equal to still greater.

At length grown bright with Perils,
Sent to secure the Province of Canada,
With a handful of Men,

He more than once repulsed the Enemy's Forces,
And made himself Master of their Forts
Replete with Troops and Ammunition.

Inured to Cold, Hunger, Watchings and Labours,
Unmindful

Unmindful of Himself,
He had no Sensation but for his Soldiers;
An Enemy with the fiercest Impetuosity;
A Victor with the tenderest Humanity.
Adverse Fortune he compensated with Valour,
The want of Strength, with skill and Activity;
And, with his Counsel and Support,
For Four Years protracted the impending
Fate of the Colony.

Having with various Artifices
Long baffled a great Army,
Headed by an expert and intrepid Commander,
And a Fleet furnished with all warlike Stores,
Compelled at length to an Engagement,
He fell, in the first Rank, in the first Onset,
Warm with those Hopes of Religion which he
had always cherished,
To the inexpressible loss of his own Army,
And not without the Regret of the Enemy's.
XXIV. September, A. D. MDCCLIX. of his
Age XLVIII.

His weeping Countrymen
Deposited the Remains of their excellent
General in a Grave,
Which a fallen Bomb in bursting had excavated
for him,
Recommending them to the generous Faith of
their Enemies.

MR. PITT'S LETTER TO GENERAL MONCKTON
GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, ACCCOMPANIED WITH
THE RED RIBBAND, FOR GENERAL, NOW
LORD AMHERST.

NEW YORK.

His Excellency Major General Monckton, Governor of New York, and several officers of the army being present, Major General Monckton read Mr. Secretary Pitt's Letter, as follows :

"SIR, Whitehall, July 17, 1761.

" HIS Majesty having been graciously pleased, as a mark of his royal approbation of the many and eminent services of Major General Amherst, to nominate him to be one of the Knight Companions of the most Honourable Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that he should be invested with the Ensigns of the said Order, which are transmitted to him by this opportunity: I am to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should perform that ceremony; and it being his Majesty's intention, that the same be done in the most honourable and distinguished manner that circumstances will allow of, you will concert and adjust with General Amherst, such time and manner, for investing him with the Ensigns of the Order of the Bath, as shall appear to you most proper for shewing all due respect to the King's Order, and as may, at the same time, mark in the most public manner, his Majesty's just sense of the constant

zeal, and signal abilities, which General Amherst has exerted in the service of his King and country.

I am, &c.

Hon. Rob. Monckton.

W. PITT."

Major General Monckton then proceeded to put the ribband over Sir Jeffery Amherst's shoulder, making an apology, that circumstances would not admit of a more formal investiture.

Sir Jeffery Amherst, upon receiving this Order, addressed himself to Major General Monckton, in the following terms :

"Sir, I am truly sensible of this distinguishing mark of his Majesty's royal approbation of my conduct, and shall ever esteem it as such; and I must beg leave to express to you the peculiar satisfaction I have, and the pleasure it gives me, to receive this mark of favour from your hands."

M.

As it is possible that the argument for keeping possession of the French West India Islands may, at some future period, be revived, it is presumed the reader will not be displeased with the insertion of the following paper. The subject was brought on the tapis by the publication of Comparative Statements of the importance of Canada and Guadaloupe: and the question was, Which of those Colonies Great Britain ought to keep, in the negotiation for peace, at that time pending, between Mr. Pitt and M. Bussy?

COPY

COPY OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN
GUADALOUPÉ TO HIS FRIEND IN LONDON,
AUGUST, 1760.

THE different opinions of the people concerning the value of Canada, and the value of Guadaloupe to Great Britain, have occasioned many disputes in private and public, in which private views have too often influenced the debate.

Those who are for acquiring all Canada, and giving up Guadaloupe, and every thing else, argue in this manner: That no terms with the French can be secure or lasting; at the very time they are making a peace, they are contriving how to break it, and will do so as soon as any opportunity occurs to do it to advantage: That we entered into the war only upon account of America: That the French invaded our properties there, and were long contriving to do it; now that we have beaten them out of all that country, what we did never claim, as well as what we did claim, therefore we ought to keep all America, as the greatest acquisition we can make, or ever was made; for if we allow them the smallest footing even in Canada itself, we can never be secure they will not drive us out of that country: That the trade of North America is the great fountain of all the British wealth and power; that of late years it furnishes and employs so many ships and so many

sailors, makes so great a consumption of the produce of Great Britain, sends so much of its produce to the sugar islands, and pours in such a tide of wealth from the West Indies upon Britain, as enables her to make the figure she now does to the rest of the world: That if all North America were her own, she could be drawn into no more wars on that account; our trade there would rise to the highest pitch; and that country so extensive, so rich, and full of so many lakes and rivers fit for navigation, would soon raise the power and naval strength of Great Britain to a degree beyond any power on earth. That the fur trade might be entirely our own; that one ship of the Hudson Bay Company is often so rich as to bring home more value than ten sugar ships: That we have sufficiency of the sugar islands already: That Jamaica alone, if it were properly cultivated, can afford more sugar than England wants; it sends home near 40,000 hogsheads every year, when the third part is not cultivated: That Guadaloupe is a place of no significance compared with Jamaica, and could add very little strength or wealth to Great Britain: That the French have long outdone us in the hats; a trade that we may have entirely to ourselves by acquiring Canada; and that if we leave the French the smallest footing or possession there, we never can be secure or safe in the rest, we have done nothing, but must be always liable to repeat the same expence.

Those

Those who wish the keeping of Guadaloupe answer as follows: That Guadaloupe we certainly have, and that Canada we have not; the fate of it is still dubious: That all the reasoning before mentioned is sophistical and unsolid: That the advantages of North America to Britain, exclusive of Canada, are very great: why join them all to Canada, of itself worth little or nothing, but to give it weight, which it has not of itself? If our barrier in America shall be fixed by treaty to the certain limits we insist upon, and Cape Breton retained or demolished, we are in a much better situation there than ever; which would render America of much more advantage to us than it was in former times, and more secure; nay, as secure as the instability of human affairs can admit: the benefit of North America to Britain does not depend upon Canada at all; it is a frothy and false argument, Canada can add nothing: but first, a little improvement of the fur trade, which might be in very great perfection without it. Secondly, preventing the French from disturbing us in that quarter of the world for some time; and even that argument is equally strong for taking the Mississippi, otherwise it is not conclusive.

But as it is argued, that the French will never be at peace with us, it must follow, that when they cannot make war in America they must disturb us in Europe; now let those gentlemen answer, Whether we have more advantage over the French by a

war in America, or a war in Flanders, when they have Ostend, &c. in their hands. The present war compared with those of King William, Queen Anne, and the war in 1744, soon solves that question. The sugar trade is far preferable to the fur trade. What does a few hats signify, compared with that article of luxury, sugar; the consumption of sugar is daily increasing both in America and Europe, and become one of the necessities of life. Jamaica has not increased in sugars these thirty years past, and never can increase much, as the greatest part of it is so mountainous that it is not capable of culture, and cannot answer the expence in many places of carrying the sugars over the mountains to be shipt; though they have made a monopoly for themselves of that commodity of a long time past, they must now be the more reluctant to part with it.

It is our sugar islands that raise the value of North America, and pours in such wealth upon the mother country. The more we have of those islands, America becomes from that cause the more important and valuable, and England the richer. In America we have more than enough; in the sugar islands a great deal too little: the nearer they can be proportioned to one another the better for both, and the more trade and wealth for England. The fur trade does not employ the hundredth part of the shipping and seamen, that the sugar trade does.

The

The having all North America to ourselves by acquiring Canada dazzles the eyes, and blinds the understandings of the giddy and unthinking people, as it is natural for the human mind to grasp at every appearance of wealth and grandeur: yet it is easy to discover that such a peace might soon ruin Britain. The acquisition of Canada will in the end be destructive to us; because such a country as North America, ten times larger in extent than Britain, richer soil in most places, all the different climates you can fancy, all the lakes and rivers for navigation one could wish, plenty of wood for shipping, and as much iron, hemp, and naval stores as any part of the world, such a country, at such a distance, could never remain long subject to Britain: you have taught them the art of war, and put arms in their hands, and they can furnish themselves with every thing in a few years without the assistance of Britain. They are always grumbling and complaining against Britain, even while they have the French to dread; what may they not be supposed to do, if the French are no longer a check upon them? You must keep a most numerous standing army to overawe them; these troops will soon get wives and possessions, and become Americans. Thus, from these measures, you lay the surest foundations of unpeopling Britain, and strengthening America to revolt: a people who must become more licentious from their liberty, and more factious and turbulent

from the distance of the power that rules them: One must be very little conversant in history, and totally unacquainted with the passions and the operations of the human mind, who cannot foresee these events as clearly as any thing can be discovered that lies concealed in the womb of time. It is no gift of prophecy: it is only the natural and unavoidable consequences of such and such measures: and must appear so to every man whose head is not too much affected with popular madness, or political enthusiasm.

But without dipping too deep in futurity, pray what can Canada yield to Britain, in this or any subsequent age, but a little extension of the fur trade? Whereas Guadaloupe can furnish as much sugar, cotton, rum, and coffee, as all the islands we have put together, and consume a vast quantity of the British and American produce, from which trade the shipping and naval strength of Britain must greatly increase: without any allowance for the cinnamon trade, which of itself may bring a good deal of wealth to the mother-country, as we have the wild cinnamon in common with the other islands; so we have also the true genuine cinnamon tree, and have sent home to England samples of it, as good as any the Dutch have.

The consumption of sugar is daily increasing both in Europe and America, and we cannot at this day serve ourselves with that article; but are we not to endeavour to serve foreign markets if we can? Did ever

ever the French bring half so much wealth to their country from hats, as from their sugar islands? To say we have sugar enough, is to say we have trade enough, a new doctrine truly; and if so, what use have we for Canada? In a word, it is most obvious to every impartial eye, that the increase of the sugar islands is particularly the interest of Britain: she is there too weak, and as those islands bring most wealth both to Britain and America, so from their weakness they can never be in any danger of revolting; and that every person, as soon as he can make a fortune there, comes home to the mother country and enjoys it; witness the number of the proprietors of the sugar islands, that reside at London, and many of them sit in Parliament. If they dread Guadalupe as a rival to their private interest, they must at the same time own, it is a great acquisition to the public wealth and strength. Thus Guadalupe, one of the greatest acquisitions ever Britain made, acquires many powerful enemies from private views, and has nothing to plead but her public utility and advantage, often found too feeble an opponent to the private interest of a few.

But to conclude, nothing can secure Britain so much against the revolting of North America, as the French keeping some footing there to be a check upon them. If the peace be made with any tolerable attention to our barrier in America, as we may be most certain it will, France must ever after be an enemy

enemy too feeble to be dreaded in that corner of the world. But if we were to acquire all Canada, we should soon find North America itself too powerful and too populous to be long governed by us at this distance. We have often, too often, wasted our blood and treasure to raise up other powers to wealth and strength; who have too often become our enemies; and therefore it were much to be wished that we could take warning, and do so no more.

Guadaloupe is supposed to be capable of producing at least 100,000 hogsheads of sugar every year. Whereas all the British islands are not upon an average supposed to exceed the following calculation:

Barbadoes	-	-	14,000
Antigua	-	-	16,000
Mountferrat	-	-	3,000
Nevis	-	-	3,500
St. Kitt's	-	-	17,000
Anguilla	-	-	50
Tortola	-	-	2,500
Jamaica	-	-	50,000
			—
			105,050

N

Previous to the General Election in 1761, the Corporation of Bath sent the following Letter to Mr. Pitt.

“ SIR, Bath, 6th of Oct. 1760

“ WE the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of this city, do transmit to you, our most grateful thanks, for exerting your great abilities with so much

much zeal and unwearied diligence in the service of his majesty and our country, as hath reflected particular honour on our city. We are convinced we should not do justice to ourselves and brother citizens, if we did not pay that regard which is justly due to your distinguished merit, by taking the earliest opportunity of offering to you the same seat in Parliament at the next general election; and which we hereby beg the favour of your acceptance off from,

Sir, your most obliged,
and very humble servants.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER.

St. James's-Square, Oct. 9th, 1760.

MR. MAYOR, AND GENTLEMEN
OF THE CORPORATION.

“ I AM this day honoured with your letter, and cannot defer a moment to express the sentiments of the warmest and most respectful gratitude for such a fresh mark of your condescension and goodness to me, after the many great and unmerited favours which you have already conferred upon me.

“ Happy! that my feeble endeavours for the King's service have in your candid interpretation, stood in the place of more effectual deservings; and that, actuated by the generous motives of zealous and steady attachment to his Majesty's Govern-
ment,

ment, you are pleased again to think of committing to me the important and honourable trust of representing you at the next general election.

" Be assured, Gentlemen, that I am justly proud of the title of Servant of the city of Bath, and that I can never sufficiently manifest the deep sense I have of your distinguished and repeated favours, nor express the respect, gratitude, and affection, with which I remain,

Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen of the Corporation,
Your most faithful and most obliged
humble servant,

W. PITT."

O.

BLACKISTON, MAYOR.

AT A COURT OF COMMON-COUNCIL HOLDEN IN
THE CHAMBER OF THE GUILDHALL OF THE
CITY OF LONDON, ON THURSDAY, OCT. 22,
1761.

" RESOLVED, that the thanks of this Court be given to the Right Hon. William Pitt, for the many great and eminent services rendered this nation during the time he so ably filled the high and important office of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and to perpetuate their grateful sense of his merits, who by the vigour of his mind had not only roused the ancient spirit of this nation, from the pusillanimous state, to which it had been reduced;

duced; but, by his integrity and steadiness uniting us at home, and carried its reputation in arms and commerce to a height unknown before, by our trade accompanying our conquests in every quarter of the globe.

“Therefore the City of London, ever stedfast in their loyalty to their King and attentive to the honour and prosperity of their country, cannot but lament the national loss of so able, so faithful, a Minister at this critical conjuncture.”

AT A COMMON-COUNCIL HELD AT GUILDHALL,
ON THURSDAY, OCT. 29, 1761, THE TOWN
CLERK REPORTED HIS HAVING WAITED ON THE
RIGHT HON. WILLIAM Pitt, WITH THEIR
RESOLUTION OF THANKS, TO WHICH HE HAD
BEEN PLEASED TO RETURN THE FOLLOWING
ANSWER:

“MR. Pitt requestsof Sir James Hodges, That he will be so good to represent him, in the most respectful manner, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, and express his high sense of the signal honour which they have been pleased to confer on him, by their condescending and favourable resolution of the 22d of October; an honour which he receives with true reverence and gratitude, not without confusion at his own small deservings, while he views with exultation the universal public spirit dispersed

dispersed through an united people; and the matchless intrepidity of the British sailors and soldiers conducted by officers justly famed through all the quarters of the world: To this concurrence of national virtue, graciously protected by the Throne, all the national prosperities (under the favour of Heaven) have been owing; and it will ever be remembered to the glory of the City of London, that through the whole course of this arduous war, the great seat of commerce has generously set the illustrious example of steady zeal for the dignity of the Crown, and of unshaken firmness and magnanimity."

EXETER, OCTOBER 29, 1761.

AT A CHAMBER IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY
RESOLVED,

" THAT the thanks of this body be given to the Right Hon. William Pitt, late one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, for the important services rendered this kingdom during his happy administration of public affairs: And to assure him, that they shall ever retain an exalted and grateful sense of his merit and great abilities, whose wisdom, and truly British spirit, animated and excited the hearts of the nation when sunk into a state of timidity and despondence; restored its ancient lustre, and raised our commercial interest, together with our military glory, to a sublimity of dignity and honour, never experienced, nor even known before.

" Ever

"Ever firmly loyal to our King and country, we cannot, therefore, but bewail, at this grand crisis, the national loss of so able a minister."

THE FOLLOWING LETTER WAS SENT BY THE
RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT, TO BENJAMIN
HEATH, ESQ. TOWN CLERK OF THE CITY OF
EXETER, IN ANSWER TO THE ABOVE RESO-
LUTION.

"SIR, Hayes, Nov. 6, 1761.

"I DESIRE you will be so good to present to Mr. Mayor, and to the chamber of Exeter, my respectful and grateful acknowledgments for the distinguished honour which they have been pleased to confer upon me. Conscious of no title to such eminent favour, I can only feel more sensibly the extent of their indulgence; and forming, as I do, unceasing vows for the continuation of those public blessings which have attended national union, I shall ever particularly rejoice, among the general prosperities of my country, in the increase of the trade, opulence, and lustre, of the city of Exeter.

"Accept, yourself, Sir, my thanks for the very obliging manner in which you have communicated to me the resolution of the Chamber.

"I am, with regard, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"W. PITT."

CHESTER

CHESTER, OCTOBER 30, 1761.

AT AN ASSEMBLY HOLDEN BEFORE THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR, THOMAS CHOLMONDELEY, ESQ. AND KNIGHT OF THE SHIRE, THE RECORDER AND MAGISTRACY, THE SHERIFFS, ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCIL, THIS DAY IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED,

“ THAT the thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. William Pitt, late one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, for his eminent and effectual services to his King and country ; and that he be assured, that this ancient and loyal city does most heartily concur in the opinion and recent resolution of the Common Council of the very respectable metropolis.

“ As also, that we deeply share, in the general anxiety, and concern, that Great Britain is, at this time, deprived of a minister, whose salutary counsels, steady conduct, and truly patriot spirit had retrieved the honour of these nations, rendered us happily unanimous at home, and gloriously formidable to our adversaries abroad.

Ordered likewise,

“ That Thomas Cholmondeley, Esq. Mayor, the Right Hon. the Lord Grosvenor, and Thomas Grosvenor, Esq. Alderman, together with Richard Wilbraham

braham Bootle, Esq. be desired to express to Mr. Pitt, these our sentiments of abundant gratitude, and high regard. Given under our common seal, this, &c.

Mr. PITT's ANSWER.

MR. PITT begs leave to represent, in the most respectful terms to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of Chester, the extent of those true sentiments of lasting gratitude, with which he receives so honourable and so affecting a mark of the approbation and countenance of that great and eminent city; in whose welfare he must ever feel himself most particularly interested.

Deeply sensible how small his part has been in that series of successes, which, under Providence, are the genuine fruits of national harmony, and of public virtue, he ardently prays, that the continuance of the same happy spirit may effectually enable his Majesty to surmount, with accumulated glories, whatever obstacles remain, to the establishment of peace upon solid, honourable, and adequate conditions.

YORK, NOVEMBER 6, 1761.

“RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commons of the city of York, in Common Council assembled, be presented to the Right Hon. William Pitt, for the

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signal

signal advantages this nation has derived from his upright, wise, and vigorous administration; to which, under Providence, we owe the revival of the ancient British spirit, the acquisition of the most valuable and important conquests, and the abolition of party distinctions. The loss of so able, so disinterested a Statesman, who so happily united the characters of the great minister and the true patriot, cannot but be deeply regretted at this critical conjuncture by every well-wisher to his King and country."

Presented (for the Town Clerk) by Mr. Strangwayes, of Gray's-Inn.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER.

MR. PITT desires Mr. Strangwayes will be so good to represent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commons of the City of York, in Common Council assembled, with what true respect and lively gratitude he receives the conspicuous mark of honour, which they have condescended to confer on him, by their approbation, confidence, and favour. Justly sensible how little he has deserved, he can never enough admire and venerate that love for the public good, which has inspired universal concord at home, and an unconquerable spirit in arms abroad. To these alone all the signal advantages of this nation, in every quarter of the globe, are, under Providence, to be ascribed. He devoutly

devoutly implores the happy continuance of the same united zeal for the honour of the crown, and for the extension of the commerce and power of Great Britain; forming continual wishes for the prosperity and splendour of the ancient and respectable city of York.

BATH, DECEMBER 18, 1761.

FROM THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION.

A LETTER OF THANKS FROM THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF BATH TO THE RIGHT HON. MR. PITT, FOR THE GREAT SERVICES WHICH HE HAS RENDERED TO HIS KING AND COUNTRY DURING HIS LATE UPRIGHT AND ABLE ADMINISTRATION.

SIR,

Bath, Dec. 18, 1761.

Had it not been for the particular relation in which we have the honour to stand towards you, we should have perhaps been still content, as others are, to enjoy in silence those fervours of gratitude, which every truly British heart must feel for the great and unparalleled services, which you have done your King and country throughout the course of your late ministry.

It is true, that after so ample and so honourable a testimony borne to them by your Royal Master himself, it would be extremely vain in us to think that any thing could be wanting to the glory of a charac-

ter thus illustriously established. But though we can add nothing to you, we have ventured to employ this occasion to do credit to ourselves, in that light we are most ambitious to be seen, of faithful and loyal subjects : for in these expressions of our great regard to you, we have only presumed to follow the gracious example of the best of Kings.

For the rest, there is no station where you can be found, in which your country will not need, and will not be sure to have, your most effectual assistance.

We have nothing, Sir, further to offer, but our ardent prayers for your health, a blessing so precious and so important to the public.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most faithful and affectionate Servants.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER.

MR. MAYOR, Hayes, Dec. 22, 1761.

I HAVE received the particular honour of a letter signed by you, Sir, and by a great number of other Gentlemen of the Corporation, containing the most condescending and endearing marks of personal regard and favour towards me, and at the same time bestowing on such inconsiderable efforts as I have been able to exert in the service of my King and country, testimonies of so distinguished and honourable a nature, that I can only accept them with confusion, joined to unceasing gratitude.

Allow

Allow me, Mr. Mayor, to intreat that you will please to communicate to the other Gentlemen of the Corporation these my most unfeigned and respectful acknowledgements; and to assure them of my ardent and continual wishes for the prosperity of the city of Bath, and for the particular welfare and happiness of the several Members of that antient and considerable Corporation.

I am, with the warmest sentiments of regard and respectful consideration,

Sir, your most obedient,

And most obliged humble servant,

W. Pitt.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER TO THE THANKS OF THE
CITY OF NORWICH.

TO SIR THOMAS CHURCHMAN, KNT. MAYOR OF
NORWICH.

SIR,

I HAVE this day had the honour to receive from Mr. Harboard (now Lord Suffield) and Mr. Bacon the very undeserved and condescending mark of approbation and favour, which the Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, and Commonality of the city of Norwich have been pleased to confer upon me.

Allow me, Sir, to entreat you to lay before that body my truest sentiments of respect and gratitude, for such a distinguished additional testimony of their goodness and indulgence towards me.

Ascribing, as I do, the public successes (under Providence) to national union at home, and to that superior spirit and conduct which have so signally displayed themselves in his Majesty's fleets and armies abroad, I cannot but feel, with just confusion, that unlimited partiality which would too generously rank my feeble endeavours in the place of real services. I implore the continuance of the diffusive blessing of concord, and shall, in particular, ever form the sincerest wishes for the trade and prosperity of that eminent seat of such extensive and beneficial manufactures, the city of Norwich.

I am, with the truest respect and unalterable attachment,

Sir, your most obedient,

And obliged humble servant,

W. Pitt.

St. James's-Square, March 9, 1762.

STIRLING, NOVEMBER, 1761.

On the 12th instant Admiral Holburn, Member of Parliament for Stirling, &c. waited on the Right Hon. William Pitt, lately one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and delivered to him at London, the following Letter of Thanks from the Magistrates, Town Council, Guildry, and seven other Royal Corporations of the said Borough, for the many great and eminent Services rendered by him to his King and Country, while he filled with Ability his late high and important office.

SIR,

SIR,

SOME years ago, when these kingdoms were in the greatest distress, and held the lowest rank in the opinion of many of the estates of Europe; you was called into the administration, which was thought but too soon taken out of your hands, to the grief cf all lovers of their country, and was expressed in addresses to you from many cities and corporations; at which time I had the honour to transmit to you the sentiments of the Guildry of this place, to which you was pleased to make an obliging return. Not long after we found you restored, by the favour of the Sovereign, to the chief place in the ministry, to the universal joy of the people. As they hoped, so you proved the chief instrument in restoring of public credit, and, under your direction, trade flourished in the midst of war, victory and conquest attended his Majesty's arms in all quarters of the world: and while the nations around felt the dire calamities of war, we in these kingdoms may be said to have enjoyed perfect peace; at the same time, the destruction of the enemy's marine freed us from the dismal apprehension of invasion, and enabled us to retort upon the enemy; -but while we gratefully looked back to the past, and indulged ourselves with future pleasing prospects, our spirits were suddenly damped by your late unexpected resignation.

The Magistrates and Town Council of this burgh, having your distinguished talents and eminent servi-

ces to your King and country under view, did unanimously (and with the joint concurrence of the Guildry, and seven other Royal Corporations assembled for that purpose, to testify their esteem of superior merit) authorise and appoint me as Preses of the Council and Dean of the Guildry, to offer you their heartiest thanks, and to declare their unfeigned approbation of your distinguished administration; and, with the greatest pleasure, I in their name do thank you, Sir, for the many great and eminent services rendered to your King and country, during the time you filled with ability the high and important office of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; who revived the ancient spirit of this nation from its despondency, uniting the nation at home, and extending its power and commerce throughout the globe; and we have no doubt of your continuing to influence the Senate and Councils of the nation, upon the same patriotic principles which have so eminently distinguished you in your public character.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW WALLACE.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER ADDRESSED TO ANDREW
WALLACE, Esq. OF STIRLING.

SIR, St. James's Square, Nov. 12, 1761.

I AM honoured with your most obliging letter of the 27th of October, and it is with impatience that

I desire

I desire the favour of you, to lay before the Magistrates and Town Council of Stirling, together with the Guildry, and seven other Royal Corporations, the deep and lively impressions fixed upon my heart, by the distinguished honour which they have been pleased to confer on me, and to entreat their favourable acceptance of the most warm returns of my respectable gratitude for this signal additional testimony of their approbation and indulgence. Let me further beg leave to offer, through you, Sir, the assurance of my unfeigned wishes for the prosperity and happiness of the town of Stirling, and of the seven Royal Corporations; and allow me to add my sincere acknowledgments to yourself personally, for the obliging and kind manner in which you are so good to communicate a resolution so partial and so full of honour to me.

I am, Sir,

With the greatest truth and regard, &c.

W. PITTE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. PITTE, ESQ. LATE ONE
OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES
OF STATE.

THE GRATEFUL ADDRESS OF THE MERCHANTS
AND TRADERS OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

WE his Majesty's most loyal, dutiful, and affectionate subjects, the Merchants, Traders, and other Citizens of the city of Dublin, whose names
are

are underwritten, judge these kingdoms too deeply interested in your withdrawing from the high station you have lately so eminently and greatly filled, to the honour and satisfaction of the crown and the subjects, to let so important an event pass over in silence.

Though thus far removed from the great scene of action, we sensibly felt the manifold good effects of your truly patriot and singularly wise and upright administration.

To this we must attribute the rescuing Britain from the shameful infection of that pestilential, ministerial panic, which called foreign mercenaries to the defence of a country, by her native force, when properly exerted, more than a match for half the powers of Europe.

To your steady virtues, we stand indebted for freeing our mother-country from the reproach of calling foreign troops to defend her from a threatened invasion, and for chastizing the insolence of the vaunting invader, by inspiring the councils and arms of Britain with that antient true national spirit, which, when duly exerted, ever has, and ever must render the British name terrible to her foes in the utmost extremities of the globe.

Under such an administration we must always see, instead of private interest, merit, the only recommendation to places of important trust. By such measures as these it is, that we have seen commerce accompanying

accompanying conquest to the remotest parts of the earth ; while faction was silenced and jarring parties reconciled and united at home.

Thus, Sir, have your steady patriot virtues raised monuments to your fame more durable than marble or brafs.

As the enemies of these kingdoms never had so great cause to exult, as they have from your withdrawing yourself from the sphere, in which, alone you could render these unspeakable great services to your country ; so the true friends of these kingdoms never had more just cause to mourn.

We should, therefore, think ourselves wanting in duty to our patriot King, did we omit giving this public testimony of our sense of the loss which all sustain, by the withdrawing of a minister of such matchless abilities and equal fidelity, at so important and critical a conjuncture as the present.

Indulge us thus, great Sir, in venting our griefs and blending our tears with those of the rest of our mourning brethren and fellow-subjects in Britain, as well as in other parts of this kingdom. Accept our most hearty and unfeigned acknowledgments for the unspeakable services and lasting honours you have already done your native country, and all the dominions of the Crown of Britain. And give us leave to assure you, that we shall ever admire, and ever with profound respect and gratitude remember, the unparalleled virtues that have so eminently distinguished your administration.

MR.

MR. PITT'S ANSWER TO THE CORK ADDRESS.

SIR, St. James's-Square, June 24, 1761.

"I HAVE received the very great honour of a letter from you, having the common seal of the city of Cork affixed to it; and must entreat the favour of you to represent for me, in the most expressive terms, to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commonality of that great city, the just sentiments of respect and gratitude, with which I receive marks so highly honourable, of their favourable interpretation of my conduct.

"As I am truly sensible how very little my feeble endeavours can have contributed to that series of successes, which (under providence) are owing to happy national concord, and to unexampled spirit and conduct in the British arms, I can only attribute to unlimited partiality, the unmerited testimony of public approbation, which that eminent trading city has been pleased to confer on me.

"Under the warmest impressions of repeated obligations, and full of unfeigned attachment, I shall ever cherish with pride the pleasing remembrance of such favours, and form unceasing wishes for the trade and prosperity of the city of Cork.

"Give me leave, Sir, to add the expressions of my sincere acknowledgments for the trouble you have so obligingly taken on this occasion.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM PITTE.

[There were several others.]

The citizens of Corke placed a fine white marble statue of Mr. Pitt, as large as life, in a niche on the Exchange, with the following inscriptions:

"In honour of Mr. PITTE, late Secretary and Minister of State to their Majesties GEORGE II. and III of Great Britain, who, in a few years of his able and upright administration, restored the honour of the British arms, together with the safety, influence, and glory of his King and country, this statue is erected by the citizens of Corke, anno 1764." This is on the one plate. On another is the following: "Siste, viator, ubicunque terrarum oriundus. Vera Icon GULIELMI PITTE cujos si nomen audies, nihil hic de fama desideres."

P

LETTERS BETWEEN MR. PITTE AND MR. ALLEN.

DEAR SIR, Hayes, June 2, 1763.

HAVING declined accompanying Sir John Seabright in presenting the address from Bath, transmitted to us jointly by the Town Clerk, I think it on all accounts, indispensably necessary that I should inform you of the reason of my conduct. The epithet of adequate given to the peace contains a description of the conditions of it, so repugnant to my unalterable opinion concerning many of them, and fully declared by me in parliament, that it was as impossible for me to obey the corporation's commands in presenting their address, as it was unexpected to receive

receive such a commission. As to my opinion of the peace, I will only say that I formed it with sincerity according to such lights as my little experience, and small portion of understanding, could afford me. This conviction must remain to myself the constant rule of my conduct; and I leave to others, with much deference to their better information, to follow their own judgment. Give me leave, my dear good Sir, to desire to convey, through you, to Mr. Mayor, and to the Gentlemen of the corporation, these my free sentiments; and with the justest sense of their past goodness towards me, plainly to confess that I perceive I am but ill-qualified to form pretensions to the future favour of gentlemen, who are come to think so differently from me, on matters of the highest importance to the national welfare.

I am ever,

With respectful and affectionate esteem,

My dear Sir, your faithful friend,

And obliged humble servant.

Signed W. Pitt.

Lady Chatham joins with me, in all compliments to the family of Prior Park.

To Ralph Allen, Esq.

The address was in these words.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

"WE the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the antient and loyal city of Bath, do beg
leave

leave to congratulate, and most humbly to thank your majesty for an adequate and advantageous peace, which you have graciously procured for your people, after a long and very expensive, though necessary and glorious war, which your Majesty, upon your accession to the Throne, found your kingdoms engaged in.

" And we take the liberty to assure your Majesty, that upon all occasions we shall be ready to give the most evident proofs of the truest zeal and duty, which the most dutiful subjects can testify to the most gracious and best of Princes.

" In testimony whereof we have hereunto
affixed our common seal, the 28th day of
May, 1763."

Prior Park, June 4, 1763.

MY DEAREST SIR,

It is extremely painful to me to find by the letter which you was pleased to send me the second of this month, that the word adequate, in the Bath address, has been so very offensive to you as to hinder the sincerest and most zealous of your friends, in the Corporation, from testifying, for the future their great attachment to you.

Upon this occasion, in justice to them, it is incumbent on me to acquaint you, that the exceptionable word does not rest with them, but myself, who suddenly drew up that address to prevent their sending of

of another which the Mayor brought to me in terms that I could not concur in ; copies of the two forms I have taken the liberty to send to you in the inclosed paper for your private perusal ; and Sir John Seabright having in his letter to Mr. Clutterbuck only acquainted him, that in your absence in the country he delivered the address, I shall decline executing of your commands to the corporation on this delicate point, unless you renew them, upon your perusal of this letter, which for safety I have sent by a messenger, and I beg your answer to it by him, who has orders to wait for it.

Permit me to say, that I have not the least objection to, but the highest regard, and even veneration for your whole conduct ; neither have I any apology to make for the expression in which I am so unfortunate to differ from you. And with the utmost respect, affection, and gratitude, you will always find me to be,

My dearest Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Signed R. ALLEN.

To the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt.

The best wishes of this family always attend Lady Chatham.

Hayes, June 5, 1763.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM sorry that my letter of the 2d inst. should give you uneasiness, and occasion to you the trouble
of

of sending a messenger to Hayes. I desire you to be assured, that few things can give me more real concern than to find that my notions of the public good differ so widely from those of the man, whose goodness of heart and private virtues I shall ever respect and love. I am not insensible to your kind motives for wishing to interpose time for second thoughts; but knowing how much you approve an open and ingenuous proceeding, I trust that you will see the unfitness of my concealing from my constituents the insurmountable reasons which prevented my obeying their commands, in presenting an address, containing a disavowal of my opinion, delivered in parliament relating to the peace. As their servant, I owe to these gentlemen an explanation of my conduct on this occasion; and as a man not forgetful of the distinguished honour of having been invited to represent them, I owe it, in gratitude, to them, not to think of embarrassing and encumbering, for the future, friends to whom I have such obligations; and who now view with approbation measures of an administration, founded on the subversion of that system which once procured me the countenance and favour of the city of Bath. On these plain grounds, very coolly weighed, I will venture to beg again that my equitable, good friend will be so good to convey to Mr. Mayor and the Gentlemen of the Corporation, my sentiments, as contained in my letter of the 2d instant.

I am ever, with unchanging sentiments of respect
and affection,

My dear Sir, most faithfully yours,
W. PITT.

Prior Park, June 9, 1763.

MY DEAREST SIR,

WITH the greatest anxiety and concern I have,
in obedience to your positive and repeated com-
mands, executed the most painful commission that I
ever received.

Upon this disagreeable occasion give me leave just
to say, that however different our abilities may be,
it is the duty of every honest man, after he has made
the strictest enquiry, to act pursuant to the light which
the Supreme Being has been pleased to dispense to
him ; and this being the rule that I am persuaded we
both govern ourselves by, I shall take the liberty
now only to add, that it is impossible for any person
to retain higher sentiments of your late glorious ad-
ministration than I do, nor can be with truer fide-
lity, zeal, affection, and respect, than I have been,
still am, and always shall be,

My dearest Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Signed R. ALLEN.

To the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt.

The best wishes of this family wait upon Lady
Chatham.

ANEC-

Q.

ANECDOTE OF LORD BUTE.

" A CERTAIN noble Lord (Lord Bute), who has uttered many extraordinary things, upon observing the warm professions of duty and affection to our Sovereign, in which every part of the kingdom rivalled another at his accession, said, in the House of Lords in 1761, that it would be the duty of the peculiar situation in which he found himself, to prevent the Nation's complimenting away its liberties to a King who was so much beloved. It is to be hoped, the noble Lord was mistaken, if he thought the people of England would ever put his good offices to the trial ; but his administration, either *proper* or *delegated*, has not given a proof that they might have been relied upon.

" Ever since this Favourite, whose influence did not begin, and has not ended with the high office he resigned in 1763, took the ascendant at court, prerogative and the power of the Crown, have been founded in a manner of which there is no example, since the House of Hanover came to the throne, their possession of which is a perpetual tribute to the paramount rights of the PEOPLE, by whose free choice it was conferred. Writers have been hired, not to defend the prerogative, for it was not invaded ; not to maintain it, for it was not disputed ; but to screw it up beyond the limits within which the constitution has circumscribed it ; and an incli-

nation has been visibly manifested to extend the royal influence and authority in a manner as dangerous as surprising. It has become fashionable to regret that the prerogative was in too low a state; and the imprudence of juvenile politicians, intoxicated with premature preferment, has not scrupled to avow a design formed to raise the power of the Crown. When there are such alarming appearances, the guards of the constitution should rest upon their arms, and the friends of liberty have their eyes about them."

Remarks on the Principles of the British Government. Quartó edit. page 3.

R.

MILITARY ANECDOTES.

Feb. 6, 1771.

These military anecdotes are not indeed strictly connected with the memoirs of the Earl of Chatham; yet as they relate to the operations of the war during his administration, they may not be thought undeserving of a place. They are taken from the *Public Advertiser*, Feb. 6, 1771.

I AGREE with my friend Lord Barrington in thinking, that Britain did not shine in the production of Generals last war: and I must add that my friend, General Howard, was among the number of those who might as well have been silent on that subject. I suppose the sting of reflection went the deeper, from

from the consciousness of the justice of the assertion. If the qualifications requisite for a soldier consisted in inventing numberless returns—wetting paper and ink, buckling a shoe, cocking an hat, cutting the belts and pouches, adjusting their exact symmetry and colour, and resting a firelock, with the toe two inches one way or another, *then I believe General Howard, and the other Generals, who served in Germany, would be among the first-rate in the profession.*

The attention paid in England to the above minutiae, is infinitely too minute!—In consequence of which, young Gentlemen, on entering the service, think, that the whole profession they are to learn, consists in dressing en militaire, being punctual at parades, understanding the manual exercise, and learning to be a martinett.—They see nothing else attended to by their superior officers, and, of course, conclude it is *the sum total of military knowledge!*— Their superior officers never dream of inculcating the necessity of learning how to take advantage of ground, in forming encampments, attacks, posting troops, erecting batteries, in forming magazines, and bakeries, in such convenient places, and with so much prudence, as to be at hand to furnish troops with forage, and with bread, at the same time that they may not serve to betray the intended movements of an army to an enemy, or be in danger of being taken or destroyed. Likewise in studying how

to take advantage of the oversight of an enemy, leading their troops into ambuscades, while endeavouring to avoid falling into any laid by them, &c. &c. For which purpose, the being master of the Grecian and Roman histories—of the great Duke of Marlborough's and glorious Prince Ferdinand's campaigns, is the only education capable of teaching an officer how to command an army, and lead it to repeated victories.

I would not be understood to mean, that the manual exercise, and the dressing of soldiers to appear military, is *not* to be attended to—far from it—no troops are fit to take the field, unless they have been well drilled---it is the business of commanding officers of regiments to see that properly performed. What I complain of is, that *this* is the *only* business which is attended to. After a young man has proved himself to be a good adjutant, he finds his character *sufficiently* established *to obtain preferment*; and he need give himself no trouble to shew he has likewise been learning the way to command, and conduct a corps in the face of an enemy, with honour and glory.

I revere the memory of the late Duke of Cumberland! The army had not the appearance of soldiers, till he dressed it, and made good regulations. I revere his memory, for his steady revolution principles! for his bravery! for his having, under God, quashed rebellion, and thereby rescued us from all the

the horrors of Popery ! and for his unalterable regard for our happy constitution!—yet as his *military* knowledge never went beyond that of an adjutant, he was unable to conduct a great army---he could lead troops gallantly into action, but then he was ignorant how to dispose their different attacks, so as to perplex his enemy, and penetrate their line with advantage---how to sustain his attacks, if repulsed, or cover their retreat if defeated ! witness Fontenoy, where, if it had not been for Lord Crawford, no retreat would have been effected ! witness Hastenbeck, where he gained a victory, and the enemy were on the route ! flying in confusion ! but, by his not advancing his cavalry in time, they rallied, and he had that victory turned into a total defeat ! I would not have mentioned the Duke of Cumberland, if I had not been under a necessity, by way of *accounting* for the too minute attention to the minutiae, shewn (since his time) by officers of the first rank. The Duke began it, by taking more trouble when in the field, about how the officers were to be posted when the line was to be turned out of *compliment*—how they were to be dressed—the men accoutred, &c. &c. than in learning how to distress the enemy, or conduct the campaign ; let any one read *his* orderly books—compare them with Prince Ferdinand's ! and then judge how very differently they employ their thoughts ! *this* has led all our Generals to follow his example ! his Majesty is now confirming

ing it ! witness the parade about nothing ! attending to trifles ! altering the way of wearing sashes, as if *that was of consequence sufficient* to excite the attention of a great King ! his officers of rank take no notice of the regimental officers shamefully neglecting to pay attention to their men in their firings--- how do they level their pieces ? Into the air ! if they make a noise, 'tis enough, though they aim at the clouds ; I stood on the flanks at most of the reviews, and I can swear that three-fourths presented so as to have gone over houses, *not* in their platoon, or grand division-firings, but in running fires, which represent *real action*, and therefore ought to be most attended to---for if men get a practice of doing so at exercise, they will hardly aim better when bullets whistle about their ears. Now, to bring all I have said, *home to the general officers*, and by way of proving their *military education* to have been *sadly neglected*, let us take a view of the appearance those made who were last war in Germany, and by the few following specimens, judge of their *warlike abilities*. And, first, I must except dead *Lord Granby* from the censure I am about to pass on the other Generals---

" Let others hail the rising sun—

" I bow to that whose course is run. *Garrick.*

To do him justice, he took pains in *Germany* to learn his profession ; and the disposition he made of his battalions the evening of the day preceding Filling-
housen

housen (campaign 1761) will ever prove his having been a soldier : The great Prince Ferdinand commended it in the most flattering manner, namely, by *not altering it.*

If G---l H---d had confined himself to his comisariat business last campaign, he would have been *more in his sphere* : He would not have pestered the troops under his command, by requiring numberless trifling returns, nor have created such confusion among the cavalry at the battle of Wilhelmsdall. Let me remind him of the manner he made the cavalry gallop in column through the thick wood, and afterwards through the intervals of the battalions, and likewise that by *his method* of forming the line to the front, while the whole column (of twenty-three squadrons) was on a gallop, if the enemy's *four-score squadrons* had immediately attacked us, no one can answer what consequence *his unmeaning hurry and ignorance* might have produced ! There is no necessity for my readers being military men to understand the blunders I am going to detect. The experienced General was at the head of twenty-three squadrons, in column, (that is, squadron following squadron) on a full gallop. He was arrived on the plain---was to form the line to the front. Instead of ordering the leading squadron to advance very slow, and keep inclining much to the right, in order for the rear squadrons to overtake the front ones, and to have sufficient ground to form on, allowing an interval

interval of the space of a squadron between each squadron; and, in order that when the line was formed, the squadrons might be fresh to charge with vigour; I say, instead of the above conduct, the great, self-important General, to shew his courage, notwithstanding the line was forming to the front, kept advancing at a trot, with hardly any inclination to the right; by which means, as the squadrons came at full speed up to dress with the right, they had not ground enough on the left, and found themselves without proper, indeed without any, intervals! All the horses quite blown! panting! and the squadrons all in a confused heap! He, seeing the confusion, and not knowing how to rectify it, kept roaring; his aid-du-camps galloping from one squadron to another. I could not avoid smiling to see him bawling till he squeaked! Fortunately indeed he soon became unintelligible; and the squadrons (by the right ones taking ground) regained their proper intervals, when he no longer perplexed them! I wish Lord George Germaine had seen the wood the cavalry galloped through that day! crowded with great trees and thick brambles! no trace of path! as the infantry marched in the roads when the cavalry passed them---very different from the open firwood of Minden! that insurmountable obstacle to Lord George! For my own part, I think his Lordship shewed bad policy when he lately fought the duel with Governor Johnstone. If his restraining the cavalry

cavalry at Minden had proceeded from personal cowardice, the world would have allowed *some pity* to have remained mixed with their contempt; but since it proceeded from a personal *envious pique* to the *greatest general in the world*; and by that infernal pique twenty French battalions (at least) made their escape; the greatest infamy is too slight a punishment! Yet, conformable to the practice of the times, I expect to hear of that man being soon taken into royal favour; since, like Lord Sandwich, he has the strongest recommendation to introduce him to the confidence of a *pious prince*--that of NOT DESERVING IT!

I shall pass over G——l M---st--n, with only saying, he had some merit by *not pretending* to be a soldier! But though his falling asleep on horseback (at the head of twelve British battalions), twelve British squadrons, on the return from Welda, two days after the battle of Warburg, campaign 1760, had very nearly exposed those troops to have been demolished, or taken prisoners by stopping the march a full hour, and as the whole army of France were on the banks of the Dymel, an hour after the corps passed it. I shall make no other comment on his conduct than that, if drinking and talking bawdy could have qualified him, none could have excelled him!

As to Lords P---m---ke, T---nsh---d, Generals Sa---f---d, Dou---l---s, &c. &c. they really were so insigni-

insignificant in the military way, that they did nothing worthy of notice; yet I give them in preference to the other generals, since they were so modestly conscious of their ignorance, that they undertook no command in which they could possibly expose themselves. They pretended to no knowledge or solicitude about the matter!

I must next remind General W-l-gr-ve (now a noble E.) of his manœuvres the forenoon of the battle of Warburg. The cavalry passed by his infantry at the village of Corbecke, at eight in the morning of that day (that village is about five or six measured miles from Warburg), and though the enemy were not all quite passed over the river Dymel at three in the afternoon (31st July, 1760), it was rather past that hour before General W-l-g-ve's regiments of infantry came up: Whereas, if they had been up in time to have followed Prince Ferdinand's plan, those regiments would have taken Chevalier de Muy's flying troops in the flank of their defeated columns, by crossing the Dymel below the hill of Disemberg, and they would have done great service; but by General W-l-g-ve's having marched in line through high standing corn (seven or eight feet high!) his men were harrassed, fatigued, delayed: Whereas, if he had marched in a column, the field-pieces of the first battalion would have trod down a path for the remainder of his battalions, and would have saved three hours spent in ridiculous manœuv-

manceuvres. I acquit the noble General as to his bravery ; his military ideas never went beyond the wheelings on the parade at Whitehall and Hyde-park ; so he thought his forming the line miles from an enemy, &c. shewed his *warlike* abilities. I cannot take my leave of General W-l-g-ve without reminding his Lordship of his manner of harraffing the regiments that formed his corps needlessly. He used to post an officer and twenty men on almost every mole-hill in the country, and that too without the smallest necessity of prudence. A General ought always to take care not to fix a post where it either could not be supported in time, if attacked, or could not retire with safety to the main body ; yet when he was commanding a corps of four battalions and seven squadrons, some hussars, and light artillery, on the Weser, the end of the campaign 1761, he detached a post, consisting of two subalterns and thirty infantry, and ditto of cavalry, commanded by a captain of the latter, at a village four miles from camp, where they could not possibly be supported in time, and where they might have been attacked before they could have known that an enemy was within twelve miles of them, since the post was in a valley, by the side of a rivulet, a thick wood came down close to the opposite banks of the little stream, and the wood extended back for twenty miles ; so that during the night, thousands of the enemy might have advanced under cover of it, close to the centinels,

nels, without a possibility of being discovered by the detachment till they were among them, and round them. Fortunately the enemy's neglect saved that post. No thanks to the General's prudence. A Serjeant and twelve of his own regiment had been carried off from that village a day or two before he sent the detachment.

I shall conclude with General C-nw-y, and only remind him of the night before Prince Ferdinand came up with the army when the General commanded at Zoest, the opening of the campaign 1761. The General that evening ordered the troops to strike tents and form the line ; and, by way of great alertness, would not allow his infantry to lie down, or his cavalry to dismount, though at that moment no enemy were nearer him than Unna, two days march distant : However, the morning brought up Prince Ferdinand to relieve the troops from needless hardships !---I had almost forgot another anecdote, relative to that General's command at Zoest : after having, like General W-l-g-ve, posted numberless detachments, he gave out in orders that "the commanding officers of regiments should catch the present favourable opportunity of exercising their men ;" but on their remonstrating, that "if all their posts were relieved *at once*, then *while* the relief was out, there would *only remain just ten men per regiment* of cavalry in camp." He was, I believe, ashamed of his not considering the number of his posts,

posts, since he retracted his orders for exercising. I will, however, do general C-nw-y the justice to say, that I believe he would have made a very good General if he had not been spoilt by his education under the Duke of Cumberland---he there learnt fiddle-faddle, and a minute attendance to the *minutiæ*, infinitely below the notice of any man above the rank of a colonel---yet it is *the only* knowledge of our Generals, or of the rising Duke of Gloucester, or of his Majesty! Every officer who served in Germany, knows that the term of British Generals was a term of reproach and of universal ridicule! If the King goes on, attending *only* to trifles, he will ruin the English Generals past redemption! The moment a man becomes a General he ought that instant to forget the *minutiæ*, and think only of the proper qualities requisite to form the commander of an army.

I would not have Lord Barrington plume himself with the idea that he has got me on his side. I believe he made his remark not through any desire to reform our Generals, but merely to excuse the King for having no commander in chief, by alledging, that none of them were fit for that high office;--- now I think any of them much fitter for it than he is. He has not the smallest pretensions, is ignorant of even the low *minutiæ* of the service; and, joined to that ignorance, he has a bad heart. There is not an officer in the whole army but who detests him.

He

He has made it his study to disgust them, by paying no attention to their services, by obliging those who were old, infirm, and disabled, to dispose of their commissions for half the sums, which young men were ready and desirous to give them, (and would have thought themselves obliged by being allowed to give them) the hard-earned wages of the old officers lives, in return for the loss of every human comfort ! In short, his Lordship is considered by the army as being, in every sense, an object of contempt and abhorrence !

JUNIUS BRUTUS.

S:

G I B R A L T A R.

IN Chapter XV. mention is made of Mr. Pitt's willingness to restore Gibraltar to Spain, upon certain conditions, of the utmost importance, at that time, to Great Britain. It is presumed, that the reader will not be displeased to see it stated here, as an historical fact, that this idea was far from being novel. The cabinet of King George the First, not only entertained the same opinion, of deriving a great national advantage from the cession of that fortress to Spain, but that Prince went much further : He wrote a letter to the King of Spain upon the subject. The cabinet of Madrid construed this letter into an absolute promise of that cession. And the performance of this promise was afterwards demanded

demanded by the court of Spain, in more than one negotiation. This important point was a great subject of discussion both in and out of parliament, a few years afterwards. The King alludes to it, in his speech to parliament, on the 17th of January, 1727. Speaking of a memorial which the Spanish ambassador had presented, the King says, *He again demands and insists on the restitution of Gibraltar.* The Gentlemen in opposition at that time, attacked Sir Robert Walpole very severely on this point. Sir Robert answered, “ That such promise not having been made while he had the honour to be in the administration, he could say nothing to it---That if such promise was ever made, he durst aver, that it was conditional---It was his fixed opinion, that Gibraltar could not be given up without the consent of parliament.”

On the 6th day of February, in the same year, Mr. Sandys (afterwards Lord Sandys) moved for a copy of the King of Great Britain’s letter to the King of Spain, which was supposed to contain this promise. Sir Robert Walpole opposed this motion; but he did not disown “ that such a promise might have been made in a former administration; but this he was sure of, that if there was such a promise, it was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, was thereby become invalid; and as for the letter, the communication of which was insisted upon, the same was al-

together impracticable and unprecedented; the private letters of Princes being almost as sacred as their very persons.” It was replied, “that this was not a *private letter*—it was an instrument of great national import, and highly proper for the knowledge of parliament.” The motion was negatived by the previous question.

The letter was, however, privately circulated by the Imperial Resident in London, Mons. de Pâlm, previous to his departure: and the following is a copy of it (translated from the French):

COPY OF A LETTER FROM HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

SIR, MY BROTHER,

I HAVE learned with great satisfaction, by the report of my ambassador at your court, that your Majesty is, at last, resolved to remove the obstacles that have, for some time, delayed the entire accomplishment of our union: since, from the confidence which your Majesty expresses towards me, I may look upon the treaties, which have been in question between us, as re-established: and that accordingly, the instruments necessary for carrying on the trade of my subjects will be delivered out; I do no longer hesitate to assure your Majesty of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to your demand, touching the restitution of Gibraltar; promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate

this

this article with the consent of my parliament. And to give your Majesty a farther proof of my affection, I have ordered my ambassador, as soon as the negotiation, with which he has been charged, shall be finished, to propose to your Majesty new engagements to be entered into, in concert, and jointly with France, suitable to the present conjuncture; not only for strengthening our union, but also for securing the tranquillity of Europe. Your Majesty may be persuaded, that I, on my part, will shew all facility imaginable, promising myself that you will do the same, for the mutual benefit of our kingdoms, being

Most perfectly, Sir, my brother,

Your Majesty's good brother,

June 1, 1721.

GEORGE R.

In a little time after this, the King of Spain entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the emperor. One condition of that alliance was, to enforce the restitution of Gibraltar. And in consequence of this alliance the siege of that place was commenced.

The writers for the ministry at that time said, "That the chief reason which flung the King of Spain into the arms of the Emperor, and occasioned that unnatural alliance, was the late Lord Stanhope's promise to restore Gibraltar." See London

Journal of the 17th of December, 1728 ; and other papers of that time.

To this assertion the Craftsman of the 24th of December, 1728, replies in the following words :

" This was far from being the case. We have been told, that his Lordship (Lord Stanhope) did unwarily give some kind of a verbal promise to the late regent of France, that the Spaniards should be made easy as to that affair ; but it was in view of a general pacification, and on conditions of trade highly beneficial to this kingdom, with which the Spaniards refused to comply. Besides, it is well known, that his Catholic Majesty acceded to the quadruple alliance after this, and by that act departed from any such promise But it may not be amiss to mention another incident, which hath been thought by men of sense, of all parties, to be the *true root and foundation of the alliance* between the King of Spain and the Emperor. And that is this, During the Congress of Cambray, the Kings of Great Britain and France were accepted as mediators between the Emperor and the King of Spain ; but upon sending back the infanta*, her Catholic Majesty was so exasperated against the French court by this indignity put upon her daughter, that she would not act any longer under the mediation of France, but offered the *sole mediation* to Great Britain ;

* This circumstance of sending back the Infanta, is mentioned in chapter XI. of this work.

tain; which we, by an extraordinary refinement of politics, thought fit to refuse. And it was this, that really flung the King of Spain into the arms of the Emperor."

This paper of the Craftsman was supposed to be written by Mr. Pulteney (afterwards Lord Bath); and it agrees with the motion he made in the House of Commons on the 23d of January, 1727, for a copy of the secret offensive alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain: which was negatived.

In a subsequent paper of the Craftsman, viz. Jan. 4, 1729, the same writer says, "I have been informed that Lord Stanhope had been induced, or seduced (if the writer of the London Journal likes that word better), by the late Regent of France, to make an overture of this kind at the court of Madrid. Lord Stanhope might think that Gibraltar was to be honestly given up *for valuable considerations*. He was so honest a man, so sincere a lover of his country, that if he thought in another manner, no consideration of private interest, no regard to the service of the ministry, could have prevailed on him to make, nor even to entertain the notion."

The reader will anticipate the observation, that the King's conduct seems to have been better and more fully defended by the writers in support of the opposition, than by those in behalf of the ministry. And this observation is in general perfectly true,

that the writers on the side of the ministry essentially injure the character of the Sovereign, by always making him a kind of screen to the conduct of his servants, while their opponents decently ascribe all nefarious measures of the court to the respective situations of responsibility.

[If the histories, or pretended histories, of the period, had contained these important anecdotes, they would not have been printed here.]

T

IN chapter XL. mention is made of Lord Chat-ham's condemnation of Lord Mansfield's doctrine of libels. In consequence of that reprehension a bill was drawn, and intended to have been brought into parliament, to put this important point of public liberty out of doubt in future. The following is a copy of the bill which was at that time prepared. But a disagreement happening between some of the principal persons in the minority, it was, upon that account, laid aside.

A B I L L, &c.

“ WHEREAS doubts and controversies have arisen, concerning the right of Jurors to try the whole matter charged in indictments and informations for seditious and other libels: for settling and clearing the same in time to come, be it enacted, &c. that from and after, &c. the Juries who shall be duly impannelled

pannelled and sworn to try the issue between the King and the Defendant, upon any indictment or information for a seditious libel, or a libel under any other denomination or description, shall, to all intents and purposes, be held and reputed, in law and in right, competent to try every part of the matter laid or charged in the said indictment or information, comprehending the criminal intention of the Defendant, and evil tendency of the libel charged, as well as the mere fact of the publication thereof; and the application by innuendo of blanks, initial letters, pictures, and other devices, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ Provided that nothing in the act be construed to prevent or restrain the Judges or Justices, before whom such issues shall be tried, from instructing the Jurors concerning the law upon the matter so in issue, as fully as may be done in other misdemeanors, where the Jurors do and ought to try the whole matter; nor to restrain the Jurors from finding the matter special, if the law to them shall seem difficult and doubtful.

“ Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from the Defendant, after verdict found, the right of laying such evidence before the court in which such verdict was found, as may tend to mitigation or extenuation of the said offence, as has been usually practised before this Act.”

U

COPY OF THANKS TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT, ESQ. BY THE SPEAKER OF THE LATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND, IN PURSUANCE OF THEIR ORDERS OF THE 20TH OF JUNE, 1766.

SIR,

YOUR noble and generous efforts in support of the common rights of mankind, and liberties of Great Britain, and her colonies, and more particularly in the late session of parliament, have very justly ensured you the warmest affection and esteem of every honest and sensible British subject.

The House of Representatives of this his Majesty's province, sensible of your distinguished merit, and the signal favours you have done to the colonies, by employing your great abilities and interest in their behalf, immediately after voting an humble address of thanks to his Majesty, have ordered, that their grateful acknowledgments should be made to their generous patron.

Sir, at the desire of the House of Representatives, I have the honour of transmitting to you their thanks; and in their name beg your acceptance of the inclosed vote. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your most obliged,

And most obedient, humble servant,

T. CUSHING, Speaker.

Boston, New England, June 21, 1766. To the Hon. William Pitt, Esq.

THE ANSWER.

SIR,

THE honour of your letter, communicating to me a public testimony of so high a nature, found me in a severe fit of the gout, which long disabled me from using my hand. Give me leave, Sir, to offer my humblest acknowledgements, and to assure you, that, though late, they are not less warmly dictated by a true sense of respectful gratitude towards the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; they will allow me to add, that I shall always esteem myself particularly fortunate, whenever the just discharge of my duty here meets with approbation in America.

I am,

With great truth, and distinguished regard,

SIR,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

Bath, Dec. 24, 1766.

CHATHAM.

*To Thomas Cushing, Esq. Speaker to the Hon. House
of Representatives of his Majesty's Province of
Massachusetts Bay.*

The following inscription is written on a pedestal, on which is erected a colossal statue of Lord Chatham, in the Ciceronian character and habiliment, at Charles-town, in South Carolina. The action
is

is spirited, and the execution masterly, by Mr. Wilton, the statuary.

In grateful memory
Of his services in general,
And to America in particular,
The Commons House of Assembly
Of South-Carolina
Unanimously voted
This statue of
Of

The Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, Esq.
Who

Gloriously exerted himself
In defending the freedom of Americans,
The true sons of England,
By promoting a repeal of the Stamp-Act,
In the year 1766.

Time
Shall sooner destroy
This mark of their esteem,
Than
Erase from their minds,
The just sense
Of his patriotic virtue..

[His picture was put up at Boston, and other places in America.]

W

A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE
EARL OF CHATHAM.

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay,
Feb. 2, 1768.

MY LORD,

THE particular attention you were pleased to give to the interest of the American subjects when their rights were in danger, and your noble and successful efforts in support of them, have left in the breasts of all, the indelible marks of gratitude. The House of Representatives of this his Majesty's Province, having reason to be assured, that in every instance of your public conduct, you are influenced by the principles of virtue, and a disinterested public affection beg leave to manifest to your Lordship, a testimony of their full confidence in you, by imploring your repeated aid and patronage at this time, when the cloud again gathers thick over them.

It must afford the utmost satisfaction to the distressed colonist, to find your Lordship so explicitly declaring your sentiments in that grand principle in nature, "that what a man hath honestly acquired is absolutely and uncontrollably his own." This principle is established as a fundamental rule in the British constitution, which eminently hath its foundation in the laws of nature; and consequently it is the indisputable right of all men, more especially of a British

British subject, to be present in person, or by representation, in the body where he is taxed.

But however fixed your Lordship and some others may be in this cardinal point, it is truly mortifying to many of his Majesty's free and loyal subjects, that even in the British parliament, that sanctuary of liberty and justice, a different sentiment seems of late to have prevailed.

Unwilling to intrude upon your attention to the great affairs of state, the House would only refer your Lordship to an act passed in the fourth year of the present reign, and another in the last session of parliament; both imposing duties on the Americans, who were not represented, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue. What, my Lord, have the colonists done to forfeit the character and privilege of subjects, and to be reduced in effect to a tributary state? This House may appeal to the nation, that the utmost aid of the people has been cheerfully given when his Majesty required it: often, on their own motion, and when almost ready to sink under the expence of defending their own borders, their zeal has carried them abroad for the honour of their Sovereign, and the defence of his rights: of this, my Lord, not to mention any more, the reduction of Louisburg in the year 1745, and the defence of his Majesty's garrison at Annapolis, and of all Nova Scotia, will be standing monuments. Can there then be a necessity for so great a change,
and

and in its nature so delicate and important, that instead of having the honour of his Majesty's requisitions laid before their representatives here, as has been invariably the usage, the parliament should now tax them without their consent?

The enemies of the colonists, for such they unfortunately have, may have represented them to his Majesty's ministers, and the parliament as factious, undutiful, disloyal: they, my Lord, are equally the enemies of Britain: such is your extensive knowledge of mankind, and the sentiments and disposition of the colonies in general, that this House would freely venture to rest the characters of their constituents in your Lordship's judgment: surely it is no ill disposition in the loyal subjects of a patriot King, wth a decency and firmness adapted to their character, to assert their freedom.

The colonies, as this House humbly conceive, cannot be represented in the British parliament: their local circumstances, at the distance of a thousand leagues beyond the seas, forbids, and will for ever render it impracticable: this, they apprehend, was the reason that his Majesty's royal predecessors saw fit to erect subordinate legislative bodies in America as perfectly free as the nature of things would admit, that their remote subjects might enjoy that inestimable right, a representation. Such a legislative is constituted by the royal charter of this province. In this charter, the King, for himself, his heirs, and successors,

successors, grants to the inhabitants all the lands and territories therein described, in free and common socage; as ample estate as the subjects can hold under the crown; together with all the rights, liberties, privileges and immunities of his natural subjects born within the realm; of which the most essential is a power invested in the General Assembly to levy proportionable and reasonable taxes on the estates and persons of the inhabitants, for the service of his Majesty, and the necessary defence and support of his government of the province, and the protection and preservation of the inhabitants. But though they were originally, and always, since their settlement, have been considered as subjects remote, they have ever cherished a warm affection for the mother state, and a regard for the interest and happiness of their fellow subjects in Britain. If then the colonies are charged with the most distant thought of an independency, your Lordship may be assured, that, with respect to the people of this province, and, it is presumed, of all the colonies, the charge is unjust.

Nothing could have prevailed upon the House to have given your Lordship this trouble, but the necessity of a powerful advocate, when their liberty is in danger: such they have more than once found you to be; and as they humbly hope they have never forfeited your patronage, they entreat that your great interest in national council may still be employed

ployed in their behalf, that they may be restored to the standing of free subjects.

That your Lordship may enjoy a firm state of health, and long be continued a great blessing to the nation and her colonies, is the ardent wish of this House.

Signed by the SPEAKER.

COPY OF LORD HILLSBOROUGH'S LETTER TO THE
AMERICAN GOVERNORS.

Whitehall, May 13, 1769.

MY LORD (OR SIR),

INCLOSED I send you the gracious speech made by the King to his parliament, at the close of the session on Tuesday last.

What his Majesty is pleased to say in relation to the measures which have been pursued in North America will not escape your notice, as the satisfaction his Majesty expresses in the approbation his parliament has given to them, and the assurances of their firm support in the prosecution of them, together with his royal opinion of the great advantages that will probably accrue from the concurrence of every branch of the legislature in the resolution of maintaining a due execution of the laws, cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects.

From hence it will be understood, that the whole legislature concur in the opinion adopted by his Majesty's

jesty's servants, that no measure ought to be taken which can any way derogate from the legislative authority of Great Britain over the colonies; but I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding insinuations to the contrary, from men with factious and seditious views, that his Majesty's present administration have at no time, entertained a design to propose to parliament any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that it is at present their intention to propose, in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce.

These, my Lord, (or Sir) have always been, and still are, the sentiments of his Majesty's present servants, and the principles by which their conduct, in respect to America, has been governed; and his Majesty relies upon your prudence and fidelity for such an explanation of his measures, as may tend to remove the prejudices which have been excited by the misrepresentations of those who are enemies to the peace and prosperity of Great Britain and her colonies, and to re-establish that mutual confidence and affection upon which the glory and safety of the British empire depend.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HILLSBOROUGH.

Lord

Y.

Lord CHATHAM's anxiety on the affairs of America, is manifested in the following letters :

Hayes, Saturday evening, July 9, 1774.

SIR,

I AM honoured with a very obliging packet by your servant, containing such marks of your kind and flattering attention to me, and my son, as command more thanks and acknowledgments than this short note, wrote in haste, can possibly convey. Such as they are, which I present in abundance, I beg you will accept, for the sincerity with which they are offered. Nothing can be so interesting in the present critical moment, as authentic information relating to America. I therefore esteem it a particular favour, to receive such communications from you in any way most convenient to yourself.

I am,

With great regard and consideration,

Sir, your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

CHATHAM.

To Mr. Sheriff Sayre,
Stratford Place, Oxford-Road.

DEAR SIR, Hayes, August 15, 1774.

INCLOSED I return to you the letter from your correspondent at New-York, for the perusal of which I beg you will accept a thousand thanks.

VOL. III.

T

The

The bearer is a person of trust, and will convey it safely to your hands*. What infatuation and cruelty to accelerate the sad moment of war ! Every step on the side of Government, in America, seems calculated to drive the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of Liberty in that vast continent, at one successful blow ; but millions must perish there before the seeds of freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favourable a soil ; and in the mean time, devoted England must sink herself, under the ruins of her own foolish and inhuman system of destruction.

I wait with extreme impatience for the next accounts ; the proclamation for seizing the covenanters ; denouncing an immediate issue. Perhaps the streets of Boston have already run with blood. If you receive any interesting intelligence, I shall esteem it a great favour to hear from you by the same method. I am,

With great esteem and consideration,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

CHATHAM.

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.

Stratford Place, Oxford Road.

* He was denied the privilege of the post. It is well known, that letters to him were indecently opened, and often stopped at the post-office.

DEAR

DEAR SIR,

Hayes, August 28, 1774.

IT is impossible to leave the very kind marks of your remembrance unacknowledged; and I acquit myself of this pleasing duty, with the real sentiments such flattering attentions must command. The royal venison, which is extremely fine, will have the better flavour by coming through the City to Hayes, and from the friendly hand of Mr. Sheriff SAYRE. Many thanks for the communication of your honest correspondent's letter, returned herewith. It is plain, that Maryland cannot wear chains! Would to Heaven it were equally plain, that the oppressor, England, is not doomed, one day, to bind them round her own hands, and wear them patiently!

*Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulcistitur orbem.*

Happily, beyond the Atlantic, this poison has not reached the heart. When then will infatuated Administration begin to fear that Freedom they cannot destroy, and which they don't know how to love? Delay is fatal, when repentance will come too late. I fear the bond of union between us and America will be cut off for ever. Devoted England will then have seen her best days, which nothing can restore again.

T 2

I am

I am sorry to conclude with so gloomy a foreboding, in a case, where the most vulgar understanding may venture to prophecy.

I am, with great esteem and consideration,

My dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And obliged humble Servant,

CHATHAM.

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.
Stratford Place, Oxford-street.

Hayes, Saturday night, Oct. 8, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I AM but just able to hold a pen, after a severe fit of the gout, or the favour of your former kind letter would not have been so long unacknowledged. That of the 6th instant, which reached me only this evening, adds not a little (both from what it says, and what it does not say) to all the anxious forebodings which filled my mind on that most interesting object of all public concerns, the fate of America. What the late accounts are, I know not; surely not less momentous for being so industriously withheld.

The very kind and friendly share you have taken at the *Standard**, can never be forgot; what the

* A tavern in Leicester-square, at which several of the electors of Westminster, at this time, occasionally held meetings.

events will be, I do not conjecture, because I do not understand the times. If there be a public cause and true friends of liberty, can a genuine son of freedom, and votary of public good, pure from the taint of any faction, suffer a repulse, where every elector has liberty in his mouth? In the present state of Westminster, should Mr. COTES demand a poll, it cannot be to serve the cause, or indeed, himself; for various reasons, however, I do not think it proper to trouble Lord TEMPLE on the occasion. The true friends of Liberty, are able to carry through the work of Liberty if they please. If little manœuvres can defeat great and generous purposes, it is more than time for Virtue to retire. But I will not suppose Lord MAHON would lose his election in Westminster, even if Mr. COTES should demand a poll. I write with some difficulty; so allow me to bid you adieu without ceremony.

My dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obliged,

CHATHAM.

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.
Stratford Place, Oxford-street.

DEAR SIR, Hayes, Dec. 24, 1774.

SOON after I had the pleasure of seeing you, I received the extracts from the votes and proceedings of the American Congress, printed and published by order at Philadelphia, and which had been

withheld from me, as the letters to others had been. I have not words to express my satisfaction, that the Congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business, with such manly wisdom and calm resolution, as does the highest honour to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves, that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced man in England who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening, for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse as heretofore.

I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject, so little understood; and, that it will be found impossible for freemen in England, to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America.

I am,

With great esteem, dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

And obedient servant,

CHATHAM.

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.
Stratford Place, Oxford-street.

Z.

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO THE HUMBLE PETITIONS PRESENTED TO HIM FROM THE CITY OF LONDON, DEPRECATING THE WAR WITH AMERICA.

April 10, 1775.

IT is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended, for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms.

July 14, 1775.

I AM always ready to listen to the dutiful petitions of my subjects, and ever happy to comply with their reasonable requests; but, while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted by a part of my American subjects, I owe it to the rest of my people, of whose zeal and fidelity I have had such constant proofs, to continue and enforce those measures, by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained.

March 22, 1776.

I DEPLORE, with the deepest concern, the miseries which a great part of my subjects in North America have brought upon themselves, by an unjustifiable resistance to the constitutional authority of this kingdom; and I shall be ready, and happy, to alleviate those miseries by acts of mercy and clemency, whenever that authority is established, and the now-existing rebellion is at an end. To obtain these salutary purposes, I will invariably pursue the most proper and effectual means.

March 13, 1778.

I CAN never think that the zeal of my subjects, the resources of my kingdoms, and the bravery of my fleets and armies, can have been unwisely and improvidently exerted, when the object was to maintain the constitutional subordination which ought to prevail through the several parts of my dominions, and is essential to the prosperity of the whole. But I have always lamented the calamities inseparable from a state of war; and shall most earnestly give all the efficacy in my power to those measures which the legislature has adopted, for the purpose of restoring, by some happy, honourable, and permanent conciliation, the blessings of peace, commerce, affection, and confidence, between the mother-country and the colonies.

AN AU-

A A.

AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE PART TAKEN
BY THE EARL OF CHATHAM IN A TRANSAC-
TION WHICH PASSED IN THE BEGINNING OF
THE YEAR 1778.

[N. B. The letters (*a*) (*b*), &c. refer to the same letters in Dr. Addington's Narrative which is subjoined to this Account.]

VARIOUS false reports having been industriously propagated, concerning a negociation (if it may be so called), said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham, it has been thought indispensibly necessary to draw up a distinct and authentic account, from papers now in the possession of the Earl of Chatham's family, of what did pass relative to that affair, that it may appear, whether the transaction did, or did not, originate from Lord Chatham; and that it may be clearly ascertained, what were his sentiments and disposition with regard to it.

It appears (*a*), that various conversations had passed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, relative to Lord Bute and Lord Chatham, previous to the 3d of February, 1778, but that Lord Chatham was in nowise apprised of this, till the above-mentioned day, on which Dr. Addington went to Hayes, and read to Lord Chatham the following

lowing extract of a letter, which the Doctor informed him, he had that morning received from Sir James Wright :

NO. I.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR JAMES
WRIGHT TO DR. ADDINGTON.

“ AS I immediately, on my return from Lord Bute’s, took down in short-hand the principal heads of it, I think I shall not deviate materially from the very words of the conversation, at least if the spirit of his Lordship’s language is debilitated, the essential matter of it is the same.

I told Lord Bute, that a friend of mine, whose honour and sincerity I could rely upon, had hinted to me, that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship’s honour, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety. He enquired who my friend was? I told him it was you. He replied, I know he is much Lord Chatham’s friend; I know also, that he is an honest man, and a man of sense. I related to him the conversation that had passed between yourself and me at our last meeting. He said, Lord Chatham was one of the very few he had ever acted with in administration, who had shewn great honesty and generosity of sentiment, with a sincere conduct, and intention for the King’s and the public welfare.

The truth of this part is expressly denied by Dr. Addington in his *narrative*, in which the Doctor declares,

clares, that to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him (*b*).

" That as for himself, he said, he had no connection with any one in administration; that he had not the least distant friendship with Lord North, or he should certainly advise him, by all means, to aim at gaining Lord Chatham over to the King's service and confidence; and, said he, you may tell your friend, Dr. Addington, to assure Lord Chatham, that if he should think proper to take an active part in administration, he shall have my most hearty concurrence, and sincere good wishes; and you have my full leave to communicate all my sentiments on this subject to your friend. He continued saying many very respectful things of Lord Chatham, adding, had we not unfortunately disagreed about the last peace, I am sure he and I should have continued such steady friends, that this country never would have experienced her present severe misfortunes. He also said, the prior part of Lord Chatham's last speech, was manly and constitutional, and could not but induce every one, a well-wisher to his country, to wish to see him again take a part in the government of the King's affairs, which would be a happiness for the whole empire. He continued saying, perhaps we have men of abilities in the House of Lords, but those in administration (except Lord Suffolk, who is usually ill half the year), are none of them

them sufficiently serious, or attentive enough to the business of the nation, which is now of so much consequence, as not to be neglected in the least degree. He therefore could not say he had a good opinion of their conduct. He also said, in the course of the conversation, that nothing but the most eminent danger to this country, should induce him to take a part in the government of it, unless in conjunction with an upright and able administration.

" Much more was said, but of less moment : however, all tended to convince me, that there are not two other men in the kingdom more faithfully inclined to the good and safety of our present distracted nation, than our two noble friends."

[This letter was dated January 2 ; it should have been February 2, having been received by Dr. Addington on February 3.]

Lord Chatham dictated the following message in answer, which was taken down in writing by Dr. Addington, a copy of which was delivered by him to Sir James Wright :

NO. II.—COPY OF A NOTE GIVEN BY DOCTOR ADDINGTON TO SIR JAMES WRIGHT.

" Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction, the favourable sentiments on the subject of the noble Lord, with whom you had talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears all hope is precluded ; but adds, that zeal, duty, and

and obedience, may outlive hope ; that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be *new counsels*, and *counsellors*, without farther loss of time ; a *real change* from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless."

It appears from Doctor Addington's narrative, (c) that the Doctor then proceeded to inform Lord Chatham of the substance of those parts of the conversation which had passed between him and Sir James Wright, which are not recited in Sir James's letter of Feb. 2, No. I.

The account of this, as well as what passed at that time, in conversation between Lord Chatham and Dr. Addington, and particularly Lord Chatham's declaration, "that it was impossible for him to serve the King and country with either Lord Bute or Lord North," is contained in Dr. Addington's narrative (c).

On the 7th of February, Dr. Addington sent the following letter to Hayes :

NO. III.—COPY OF A LETTER FROM DR. ADDINGTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM, DATED WIGMORE-SRTEET, SATURDAY, TWO O'CLOCK.

MY GOOD LORD,

" SIR James Wright took a direct copy of the valuable writing entrusted to my care, between twelve and one yesterday. At one he waited in his friend,

friend, and I was to call in Brook-street for his answer at half past two. I was punctual to the time; Sir James had been at home, but a few minutes before my arrival had been called back to his friend. I waited half an hour, and then left a letter, requesting a line from Sir James, before he went out of town.—At five, I received a short note, saying that his stay in town could be of no service, and that he would give me an account by the post this day of his conversation with ——. Perhaps more persons than one were to be consulted before an account could be given. As far as I could learn, all parties would be pleased with your Lordship and Lord Camden, and that no objection was likely to be made to more than one of your Lordship's friends. Sir James Wright asked what was meant by the words “real change.” I thought they wanted no explanation. He thought they included his friend, as well as the ministry, and wished that your Lordship and his friend could have an interview; but gave me no commission to mention his wishes. He only added, that he really believed it was in the power of your Lordship and his friend to save the nation; I only added, that I believed the King and your Lordship could save the nation, and that his friend might be instrumental to its salvation, by turning the royal mind from past errors. I hope your Lordship and Lady Chatham go on well, and that I shall have the happiness of paying my respects to

to you both in Harley-street, on Monday. I most heartily congratulate my Lady and your Lordship on the safe arrival of Mr. James Pitt.

I am ever, my dear and good Lord,
Your most faithful and obliged
humble servant,

A. ADDINGTON.

Wigmore-street, two o'clock, Saturday.

The same night Lord Chatham wrote with his own hand the following note, in answer to Dr. Addington, which was received by the Doctor the next morning :

NO. IV.—COPY OF A NOTE FROM THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON.

Hayes, Feb. 7.

“THE conversations which a certain gentleman has found means to have with you, are, on his part, of a nature too insidious, and to my feelings too offensive, to be continued, or *unrejected*. What can this officious emissary mean, by all the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? The next attempt he makes to surprize friendly integrity by courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron and your village friend differ in this: one has brought the king and kingdom to ruin; the other would sincerely endeavour to save it.”

Sir James had told the Doctor, and the Doctor had told Lord Chatham, that Lord Chatham and Lord

Lord Bute did not differ in political sentiments, which the Doctor thinks might occasion the last sentence in Lord Chatham's note.

Dr. Addington, on the 8th of February, sent to Lord Chatham, at Hayes, the following letter, (enclosing one which he had received that day from Sir James Wright, soon after the receipt of the above note from Lord Chatham :)

No: V.—COPY OF A LETTER FROM DR. ADDINGTON TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

“ I AM infinitely obliged to you, my dear Lord for your kind and friendly caution against surprize and insinuation. It shall never be forgotten; and when I see the gentleman next (which perhaps may be to-morrow), your Lordship's wise and noble commands shall be literally obeyed. The inclosed letter, which was promised to come yesterday by the post, arrived this morning, by a special messenger. It needs no comment of mine; I am sure your Lordship will understand the language and drift of it much better than I can, or any body else. I am impatient to see your Lordship in town, and pray a few minutes with you to-morrow. The time is come for you, and you only, to save a King and kingdom. Your Lordship knows that I am ever

Your most faithful,

And most affectionate humble servant,

Feb. 8, 1778.

A. ADDINGTON.

No.

No. VI.—COPY OF A LETTER FROM SIR JAMES
WRIGHT TO DR. ADDINGTON.

Ray-House, Feb. 7, 1778.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

" I communicated our conversation of yesterday to my friend, soon after I left you, and then shewed him a copy of the paper you allowed me to transcribe. You will easily recollect, on my first reading it over with you, the observation I made on the particular expression in it, "A *real* change, and not a mere palliation; namely, that your noble friend still thought that Lord Bute had influence in the measures of Administration. In the very same light he also construed this expression; he therefore desired me to inform you, for the instruction of your friend, that the ill health he had long been subject to, united with the distresses of his family, had accustomed him to a perfect retired life, which he hoped, as long as he lived, steadily to adhere to; he added, that his long absence from all sort of public business, and the many years which had intervened since he saw the King, precluded him from forming any idea of measures past or to come, but what he gathers from very general conversation, or the newspapers; and this total ignorance, he said, renders the opinion given of the present dangerous crisis more alarming to him than it would otherwise be and much more painful, as, notwithstanding his, zeal for the country, love for the King, and very

high opinion of Lord Chatham, he has it not in his power to be of the least use in this dangerous emergency; and that from his heart he wished Lord Chatham every imaginable success in the restoration of the public welfare.

" I think, my dear Doctor, this was almost verbatim my friend's conversation; at least I am confident it is a fac-simile of his real sentiments; and you see how very distant they are from the least inclination ever to interfere in the present or any future administration, which your friend seemed to apprehend. May he extend the powers of his own great and honest abilities, to heal the dreadful wounds, which this poor country has received from what he very wisely calls *past errors*. Without his head, as well as heart, I fear all is lost. I remember poor Lord Northington saying to me more than once, not long before his death, that " as I was a young man, I should probably live to see (if I survived Lord Chatham and a few other great men) that this country would not only want abilities, but hearts, and that our state would then be really piteous, where both knowledge and integrity were wanting to protect us." " Pray God your noble friend may step forth before this sorrowful epocha arrives, and stem the dreadful tide of profligacy, inattention to business, and barefaced immorality, which daily increase in every department of life, and must bring down ruin, and the dissolution of our country.

" That

" That first quality of *knowledge*, which Lord Northington lamented the extinction of in this country, I shall never presume to be entitled to; but that of integrity I dare assert my claim to; and in that particular I hold myself inferior to no man: I only wish it was in my power to give your great and invaluable friend the most convincing proofs of this assertion, as well as my profound veneration for him. You have known me long enough to be persuaded that nothing can divert me from the love of my country, and the path of an honest conduct; therefore ever command, with the utmost freedom, my dear Doctor.

Your most faithful and sincere friend,
JAMES WRIGHT."

P. S. I shall be in town on Tuesday about three o'clock, and stay till the following day.

The next day the following answer, written by the Countess of Chatham, was sent to Dr. Addington.

NO. VII.—COPY OF A LETTER FROM LADY CHATHAM TO DR. ADDINGTON, DATED FEB. 9.

" I WRITE, my dear Sir, from my Lord's bedside, who has had much pain all last night from gout in his left hand and wrist. The pulse indicates more pain to come. He desires me to express for him the true sense he has of all your very friendly attention in this very delicate and critical situation. The

Gentleman's letter which you transmit is handsomely written, and sufficiently explicit. At the same time, it is impossible not to remark, how widely it differs from the tenor of some of the intimations conveyed in former strange conversations to you. The letter now before him is written also with much good sense and candour, as coming from a heart touched with the extreme dangers impending over the King and Kingdom. Those dangers are *indeed extreme*, and seem to preclude all hope.

Hayes, quarter before one, Feb. 9, 1778.

From this unambiguous and authentic account founded upon indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine, whether the following proposition is not fully established: viz.

"That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation, peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration.

DR. ADDINGTON'S NARRATIVE.

CONTAINING HIS ACCOUNT OF WHAT PASSED
RELATIVE TO THIS TRANSACTION.

(a) The first time Sir James Wright talked with Dr. Addington, respecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham, was about the begining of January, 1778. Sir James began with lamenting the situation of this country,

country, and gave it as his opinion, that the only method of saving it was for Lord Bute and Lord Chatham to unite firmly together, but remarked, that they were two of the men the King hated most. After various conversations on this matter, Sir James said Lord Bute thought Lord Chatham had a disrepect for him. Dr. Addington replied, (*b*) that, to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him, but that he thought Lord Chatham had no disrepect for Lord Bute; adding, that though they might differ in politics, Lord Chatham was not the kind of man to have disrepect, or bear ill will to any man. Sir James added, he was sure Lord Bute had the highest respect for Lord Chatham; that he had heard Lord Bute bestow great commendations on his whole speech at the beginning of the session, except that part which regarded the recall of the troops, and that the Doctor might tell Lord Chatham so if he pleased; but he never mentioned it till the 3d of February.

Nothing more passed till the 2d of February, when Sir James asked the Doctor, whether he had mentioned their former conversation to Lord Chatham. He said he had not; Sir James then said, that since that conversation he had seen Lord Bute, and was certain he had the same earnest desire with Lord Chatham to save the country; and was also certain, that nobody could save it, but Lord Chatham, with the assistance of Lord Bute: that Lord Bute

was ready to assist him, and would be Secretary of State in the room of Lord Weymouth: the Doctor understood that Lord Bute had told Sir James so; and he has asked Sir James once or twice since, whether Lord Bute would have been Secretary of State in Lord Weymouth's room? and he answered, Yes, he would, or would not, as Lord Chatham pleased. When Sir James had mentioned Lord Bute's readiness to assist Lord Chatham, and to be Secretary of State, he expressed a wish that the whole which had passed might be communicated to Lord Chatham. The Doctor on this resolved to go to Hayes the next morning for that purpose, looking upon it as a matter of very great moment. But he desired to have in writing, before he went, the substance of what had passed between Lord Bute and Sir James. Sir James said he had not time to write then, as he was in a hurry to go to Ray House, but would write in the evening, and send his letter to town by nine the next morning. The Doctor, notwithstanding, was permitted to acquaint Lord Chatham with Lord Bute's willingness to be Secretary of State, and, as he understood, with every thing else he has deposed, which is not expressed in the letter. (Vide No. I. in the preceding account). The letter is dated the 2d of January, 1778: it should have been dated February 2d: the Doctor received it February 3d, before nine in the morning, and set out directly for Hayes. He read the letter

letter to Lord Chatham, who was very attentive, and in a few minutes afterwards dictated this answer (Vide No. II. in the preceding account). (c) As soon as Dr. Aduington had writ and read to Lord Chatham the above answer, he communicated to Lord Chatham what Sir James Wright had told him of the readiness of Lord Bute to be Secretary of State in the place of Lord Weymouth. He seemed to think it strange. "Indeed," said he, "did Sir James Wright tell you so?" "He certainly told me so."—After this, he asked Lord Chatham, whether he had any objection to coming in with Lord Bute or Lord North? He lifted up his hands, and said, "It was impossible for him to serve the King and Country with either of them; and if any one asks you about it, I desire you to bear witness that you heard me say so." He repeated the same words just as the Doctor was leaving him.

Sir James continued at Ray House till February 5th or sixth. He called on the Doctor in the morning of the 6th, and took a correct copy of Lord Chatham's answer, dated February 3d. Upon reading it, he asked what was meant by the words "real change." It looks, said he, as if they included Lord Bute as well as the Ministry, and as if Lord Chatham thought Lord Bute was concerned in public affairs. I can assure you, he has nothing to do with them, and has not seen the King these two years. If Lord Chatham has a mind to undertake the direction of public affairs, there will be no objection

to his having the assistance of Lord Camden; but there are some he might chuse who could not be admitted. Sir James said, he was to wait on Lord Bute at one that day, and would send the Doctor an answer to Lord Chatham's paper between two and three, if Lord Bute should chuse to give any. But a misfortune happening in Lord Bute's family, no answer was sent till February 8th in the morning. On the 7th of February, a servant of Lord Chatham's came to town, by whom Dr. Addington sent a letter to Hayes at two o'clock, giving Lord Chatham an account of the abovementioned conversation with Sir James Wright on the 6th. On the evening of the 7th, his Lordship wrote the following answer, which the Doctor received the next morning. (Vide No. III. and No. IV. inserted in the preceding account).

On the 8th of February, soon after Lord Chatham's letter arrived, the Doctor received that letter from Sir James, which had been expected from February 6th. (Vide No. VI. in the preceding account). It is dated February 7th, and contains Lord Bute's answer to Lord Chatham's paper of February 3d. The Doctor sent it immediately to Hayes, and had the next morning the following answer written by Lady Chatham, dated February 9th. (Vide No. VII. in the preceding account.) The Doctor communicated to Sir James Wright this letter from Lady Chatham, and also the latter part of that from Lord Chatham as soon as he could, and so the affair ended.

THE TWO FOLLOWING LETTERS WERE WRITTEN
IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE PUBLICATION OF
THE PRECEDING AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT.

Hill-Street, Oct. 23, 1778.

THE publication which appeared about the middle of this month, and said to be taken from a copy handed about by the friends of the late Earl of Chatham, makes it necessary for me to give an answer, signed with my name.

The first paragraph of that publication observes very truly, that various false reports had been industriously propagated concerning a negotiation said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham. No less than three several reports of negotiations between those two noble Lords, reached me in the course of last spring, each differing from the other two in circumstances, and all from one another in the substitutes named, as having been employed in the transactions; and I took some pains to search into the origin of these stories; not to satisfy any doubt of mine as to their falsehood, (for I believed none of them) but to convince some of my acquaintance who disagreed, and others who might disagree with me in opinion upon the subject.

In consequence of these enquiries, the persons mentioned as agents, or message-bearers, in two of the three reports, very readily disclaimed all share in,

in, or knowledge of the transactions ascribed to them. With respect to the third, there was more pretence of foundation, since messages certainly passed (as appears by your publication of the 15th of October) between the late Earl of Chatham and my father, by means of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington.

The representation I had heard of some particulars in the subject matter of that intercourse surprized me so much, that I requested the favour of an explanation from Dr. Addington, who obligingly allowed me to write from his mouth such an account as he thought fit to give me, and approved my state of it when written. This was put into Sir James Wright's hands, who in a short time produced an answer contradicting it in all the material articles of their conversations, on which Dr. Addington's reports to Lord Chatham had been founded. I read over the answer to Dr. Addington, who persisted in maintaining his the truth of relation; but said, he would re-consider the matter at leisure, and put his thoughts into writing. Accordingly he afterwards sent me a paper, the same with that referred to in your publication, and since printed under the title of Dr. Addington's Narrative.

The relations given by these two gentlemen being thus inconsistent, it was thought proper that a full abstract should be prepared of their respective papers and others which my enquiries had produced, including

including my father's own account of his part in Sir James Wright's transaction, digested into some method; to be shewn to such as might desire to see it, but not allowed to be copied. This abstract, or digest, was executed by a friend, at my request, in a fair state of the allegations on both sides between Sir James and the Doctor; with a preliminary detail or introductory narrative of the several steps I had taken in the enquiries above-mentioned: and my friend's compilation hath been read by a few people; but no copy, as I am informed, had been delivered out of my family, except one, which had been intended for a very near relation, and was sent to Lady Chatham, with copies of Sir James Wright's papers, at her Ladyship's own desire. To these communications, I understand, it is immediately owing, that the authentic account published was judged indispensably necessary to be drawn up and circulated; of which Lady Chatham was so good as to furnish my father with a copy thirteen or fourteen days before it appeared in print; so that I, who consider myself as being, in some degree, the cause of the publication, am, for this reason, called upon to take a public notice of it, if my connection, and the nature of the occasion, did not afford me sufficient inducement and cause for so doing.

The account is avowed expressly to be drawn up from papers in possession of the Earl of Chatham's family, in order to shew whether the supposed negotiation

tiation did or did not originate from his Lordship: so that the papers are confessedly furnished by the Earl's family for the purpose of composing this account, which therefore bears the stamp of that family's authority, whether printed by their direction or not.

The account closes with the following observation, viz. “*from this unambiguous and authentic account, founded on indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine whether the following proposition is not fully established, viz. that the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration.*”

The proposition here put, it must be observed, does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves in it a strong implication, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in administration with his Lordship. Now I do not at all enter into the question, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negotiation with the Earl of Bute: but when I consider the expression in his Lordship's dictated answer to Sir James Wright's letter, that *he heard with particular satisfaction the favourable sentiments on this subject of the noble Lord (viz. Lord Bute) with whom Sir James Wright had talked*, and the following words of the sentence, that *zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope, even under the impending ruin of*

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the kingdom, it appears to me, that whatever ideas his Lordship might reject, he had not then resolved to reject all ideas of negotiation with my father, conceiving, perhaps, from his assurance of hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes conveyed in Sir James Wright's letter, some expectation of having the door of the cabinet opened to him by that hand, which according to his notions, had always kept the key. I may proceed a step further: it seems probable that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the present year, was looking out for a negotiation with my father: for Mr. Dagge, who was said in one of the above-mentioned reports to be concerned in transacting a negotiation between the two noble Lords and who is an acquaintance of Lord Bute, happening to say in common conversation with a friend of Lord Chatham, that he had heard my father speak respectfully of Lord Chatham, and give his opinion, that Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis; and this being reported to Lord Chatham by his friend, who heard it from Mr. Dagge, his Lordship instantly concluded, the words to be meant as a message to him from my father; but luckily his friend undeceived him in time; of which I also have my indisputable evidence from a paper of that friend, who obliged me with it at my own desire, but who cannot be suspected of wanting partiality for Lord Chatham.— It is said in the Authentic Account, from the evidence

dence of Dr. Addington's Narrative, that Lord Chatham held a conversation with the Doctor at Hayes, in which the former declared it was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North: but I believe nobody would discern, in this part of their conversation at Hayes, the shadow of a proof that my father offered to serve the public in a ministry with his Lordship, unless Dr. Addington had added this circumstance in his Narrative, as gathered from Sir James Wright's discourse with him: so that at last the indisputable evidence of this fact, so far as regards my father, rests wholly upon Dr. Addington's Narrative, which hath been flatly contradicted in that point, again and again, by Sir James Wright. Undoubtedly the Doctor and Sir James would have been sufficient witnesses of the message intended to be conveyed through them, if their accounts had agreed; but they differ so widely and essentially, that no evidence seems to have less claim to be called indisputable. What other evidence then can be resorted to in this case, but Lord Bute's relation of his own proceedings? This I am at liberty to give you in the following extract from his letter to Lady Chatham of the 16th of August last, dated from Luton Park.

"MADAM,

"I am happy in the opportunity your Ladyship gives me of relating to you all I know concerning a transaction, in which both Lord Chatham and I have

have been strangely misrepresented to each other, and concerning which so many falsehoods have been industriously propagated. When Sir James Wright communicated to me the very flattering language in which he declared Lord Chatham had expressed himself concerning me, I was naturally led to mention my regard for his Lordship, and the high opinion I entertained of his superior talents, hoping, from what was then publicly talked of, to see them once more employed in the ministerial line; and collecting from Sir James, that the knowledge of my sentiments would not, on this occasion, be displeasing, I did not hesitate to express my hearty wishes, that this important event might soon take place. Some time after this I was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to me: it was in substance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming situation we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it. As such a communication, to a person in my retired situation, seemed only made on a supposition that I had still some share in public counsils, it appeared necessary for me to dictate to Sir James my answer; in which, after lamenting the dangerous situation of affairs, unknown to me in such an extent, I added, this affected me the more, as my long illness, and total seclusion from all public business, put it out of my power to be of the least service.—This, Madam, is the whole I was privy to

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in this affair, and all that passed between Sir James and me upon it."

If any further explanation can be necessary from my father, respecting either the design or purport of his message, he allows me to say, in his name, that he did (perhaps erroneously) consider Dr. Addington's representations of Lord Chatham's manner of speaking of him, as reported at the time by Sir James Wright, to be intimations thrown out by his Lordship, in order to know his (my father's) sentiments upon the subject of his then coming into Administration: for which reason my father did not scruple to send a message by the person from whom he derived his information, signifying, that if Lord Chatham was appointed to administration, the hearty concurrence of his judgment and sincere wishes of success would follow that appointment. He avers, at the same time, that he did not conceive a thought of proposing himself to his Lordship for any office, or of accepting any office with him, his own inclination having never prompted him, nor his state of health admitted him, to engage in public business, except on very few occasions in the House of Lords, from the time of his quitting the Treasury in 1763; neither did he entertain an idea of suggesting to Lord Chatham any arrangement of an administration, his wishes, and the communication of them through Sir James Wright, having solely regarded Lord Chatham. There is another passage in your publication,

which

which appears to me more material still with respect to my father, than what I have already mentioned. This is the copy of a note from Lord Chatham in his own hand-writing to Dr. Addington, saying, *the next attempt he (Sir James Wright) makes to surprise friendly integrity with courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron and your village friend differ in this; one has brought the King and Kingdom to ruin, the other would sincerely endeavour to save it.*

Here is a letter under the Earl of Chatham's hand, vouched to be such by the authority of his family, imputing to Lord Bute those counsels, which Lord Chatham says (whether justly or erroneously, is not the present question) have ruined the King and Kingdom. Every reader will at once have understood this imputation to be founded on Lord Chatham's opinion of Lord Bute's secret influence (as it is called) by which he has been imagined to dictate or controul the measures of the cabinet ever since the Earl of Chatham left it. Lord Bute has not been ignorant of the long prevalence of that error, having seen himself most injuriously treated in consequence of it, for many years past, by writers of pamphlets, newspaper essays, and political paragraphs; all which he passed over in silent indignation and contempt: but when he sees the same cruel mistakes advanced and countenanced by such an authority as the Earl of Chatham, he thinks he should be wanting to himself if he did not encounter it

with the best evidence that can be supposed to lie within his reach.

There are but two persons in the kingdom who are capable of knowing the negative of that opinion with absolute certainty. One of them is of a rank too high to be appealed to, or even mentioned on this occasion; the other is himself. He does therefore authorize me to say, that he declares upon his solemn word of honour, that he has not had the honour of waiting on his Majesty but at his levee or drawing-room, nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices, or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry in 1765, to the present hour.

Before I conclude, I must apprise your readers, that I do not intend to set up for a newspaper author, or to answer questions, objections, or observations, or to engage in printed altercation with any body.

I am, &c.

MOUNTSTUART.

Harley-Street, Thursday, Oct. 29, 1778.

A LETTER appeared in the papers of October 26, signed by Lord Mountstuart, of which I think it incumbent upon me to give public notice, and I should have done so sooner, if I had not been, at that

that time, at some distance from London. His Lordship's letter contains some passages which I think injurious to my father's memory, as well as observations on an *Authentic Account*, &c. (which lately appeared in print) which seem to require an answer from Lord Chatham's family. I wish it had fallen to some other hand to discharge this debt to my father's memory; at the same time, my impatience to vindicate his conduct, and to free this subject from misconstruction, cannot, I am persuaded, stand in need of any excuse, either towards Lord Mountstuart, or towards the public.

Lord Mountstuart, in the beginning of his letter, says, that no less than three reports of negotiations between my father and Lord Bute reached him in the course of last spring. One of them appears to have arisen from the transaction between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, of which the public have heard so much already.—Another from that affair in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.—And the third report, which Lord Mountstuart alludes to, I suppose to be the same with that mentioned in a paper drawn up at Lord Mountstuart's request by Mr. Martyn. If it is, I can only say, that I have been assured by my brother-in-law, Lord Mahon, that my father himself told him, that Lord Bute's name was not mentioned in the affair which has occasioned that report.

Lord Mountstuart afterwards alludes to the abstract, or digest, drawn up by his friend on the subject of the negotiation between my father and Lord Bute. I think it right to declare, that that paper, which was sent to my mother, at her request, by Lord Bute, together with the declarations of Sir James Wright and other concurring reports, tended, in the opinion of the family, to bring imputations on my father's character, which they could not suffer to pass unnoticed. The persons therefore who compiled those papers sent to Lady Chatham, or who propagated such injurious reports, were, in fact, the causes of the Authentic Account being drawn up and circulated.

I shall now proceed to take notice of the remarks made by Lord Mountstuart on the concluding proposition of the Authentic Account, which is, "That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation, peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration." His Lordship says, "that the proposition does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c, but involves in it a strong implication, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in administration with him." To this I say, that the proposition, as quoted above, does not necessarily involve such an implication, nor is it anywhere asserted in the *Authentic Account*, that Lord Bute did make

make any such proposal. The proposition only implies (what I think the *Authentic Account* fully proves) that what was reported to Lord Chatham by Dr. Addington, was brought to him *as coming from Lord Bute*. Whether the idea thus conveyed to Lord Chatham originated entirely with Sir James Wright — whether they arose from misapprehensions of Dr. Addington, or whether they proceeded from Lord Bute himself, it is equally incontestible, in every one of these cases, that they came to Lord Chatham in the manner stated in the *Authentic Account*. Lord Chatham could consider those ideas only in the shape in which they came to him, and his messages in consequence are sufficient to shew his determination on this subject, without our enquiring how far the advances made to him were or were not authorized by Lord Bute. The sole motive of drawing up the *Authentic Account*, was the desire of vindicating my father's memory, and not any wish to affect the character of Lord Bute. If any one by reading the *Authentic Account*, is led to form any opinion relative to Lord Bute, it must be from the nature of the papers contained in it (which were necessary to be produced for my father's justification) and not from any assertion made or implied in any part of the account. Whoever has read it, must have observed, that it consists of written and indisputable evidence, and does not contain a single word beyond that evidence, excepting only the few

introductory lines—the allusion to various conversation which had passed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Adington, previous to the 3d of February, which circumstance I am persuaded, cannot be called in question,—the mention of Lord Chatham's conversations with Dr. Addington, and his declaration relative to Lord Bute and Lord North, which no one can pretend to controvert—and finally, the concluding proposition, of the truth of which the public must judge, by considering the facts from which it is deduced. With respect to Dr. Addington's Narrative, it was, by his permission, added in the Appendix, in order to throw light on some part of the transactions. If Sir James Wright contests anything advanced in the Doctor's Narrative, the public judgment will finally rest on the comparative degree of credit due to those two gentlemen, and upon the probability or improbability of their respective assertions.

Lord Mountstuart also says, "that he does not at all enter into the question, whether Lord Chatham did or did not enter into a negotiation with the Earl of Bute." If his Lordship had strictly adhered to this intention through the remainder of his letter, these remarks would have been less necessary.

His Lordship then endeavours to prove, "That my father, at the time of dictating his answer to Sir James Wright's first letter, had not resolved to reject

ject all ideas of negotiation with Lord Bute." Now, if Lord Mountstuart means by this, that Lord Chatham would not, from any personal objection to Lord Bute, have refused to listen to such proposals, as may be perfectly consistent with his honour and his principles, which he might have accepted with the prospect of being serviceable to his country, *merely because they came through his Lordship*; Lord Mountstuart can deduce from this nothing that in any way affects the present question. If, on the other hand, he means that Lord Chatham had not resolved to reject a negotiation of any other description, or that there was any time when he would not have rejected every idea of acting with Lord Bute in administration; this opinion is utterly without foundation, and no argument has been produced in support of it.

The expressions which Lord Mountstuart quotes from my father's note are these: that "*Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction the favourable sentiments on this subject of the noble Lord with whom Sir James Wright had talked,*" and that "*zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope,*" (even under the impending ruin of the kingdom). Now what does the first of these expressions amount to, but that Lord Chatham heard with much satisfaction, those high expressions of approbation, and explicit offers of concurrence, from one who was generally thought (no matter how truly) to have so much influence in the government of this country, which were con-

veyed in Sir James Wright's first letter, with the express desire that they might be communicated through Dr. Addington to Lord Chatham?—And what is the meaning of the second expression, but that Lord Chatham, however desperate he thought the situation of public affairs, would still perform the duties of a good subject, in endeavouring to prevent, if possible, the final ruin of the kingdom?

It is impossible therefore to argue from either of these expressions, which were written in answer to Sir James Wright, that my father either courted a negotiation with Lord Bute, or was willing to act with his Lordship in administration; unless it can be pretended that the profession of *zeal, duty, and obedience*, are to be referred to Lord Bute. Let it also be remembered, that the very message from which Lord Mountstuart has quoted the expressions above recited, contains in it the declaration of Lord Chatham's opinion, “*That if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, without further loss of time, a REAL CHANGE from sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless,*” which words were considered by Sir James Wright, and, (as appears from Sir James's letter of February 7th) were considered by Lord Bute himself, as including his Lordship as well as the ministry.

Lord Mountstuart next attempts to shew, “that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the present year,

was

was *looking out* for a negotiation with Lord Bute." It is not very clear what exactly is meant by that expression, I cannot imagine Lord Mountstuart to have intended to imply, that Lord Chatham expected a negotiation would be begun on the part of Lord Bute; because that would seem as if Lord Mountstuart admitted that there was ground for such an expectation. But, if he intended by this expression to convey, that Lord Chatham was disposed to court a negotiation with the Earl of Bute, I must take the liberty to assert, that the circumstance he refers to is no proof of such a position. The affair mentioned by Lord Mountstuart, in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, was reported to Lord Chatham by his nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt, (who is at present out of England) and it is from him that Lord Mountstuart must have received the account he alludes to. His Lordship has not thought proper to lay that paper before the public, and therefore I need not enlarge upon the subject; but I am confident Mr. Pitt cannot have asserted any thing which has the most remote tendency to prove that Lord Chatham was any time *looking out* for a negotiation with Lord Bute. The only reason alledged by Lord Mountstuart for thinking that he was, amounts to no more than this: That Lord Bute did speak respectfully of Lord Chatham to Mr. Dagge, and did declare his opinion, that *Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis.* - That Mr.

Dagge

Dagge did communicate this to Lord Chatham's nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt. That he did go to Hayes, in order to report this to Lord Chatham—and that Lord Chatham did in consequence imagine, that it was meant by Lord Bute to be communicated to him. On this I do not think it necessary to make any observation. I must however add, that those who received an account of this affair from my father's own mouth, know, that he was so far from welcoming these unauthorized advances, with the view of improving them into farther negotiation, that he expressed, in the strongest terms, his dislike to such a mode of application.

Lord Mountstuart observes, that Lord Chatham's declaration to Dr. Addington, "*that it was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North,*" is no proof that Lord Bute offered to serve the public in a ministry with Lord Chatham. It was never intended as a proof of that matter; but merely as an evidence of Lord Chatham's resolution not to act in administration with Lord Bute. To that point Dr. Addington's evidence is conclusive; for however other parts of his Narrative may be contradicted by Sir James Wright, it is impossible for Sir James to dispute his account of the conversation between Lord Chatham and the Doctor, at Hayes. There are, however, other persons, besides Dr. Addington, to whom Lord Chatham has made the strongest declarations to the same purpose: and

and the more his conduct is canvassed, the more proofs will appear of this unalterable resolution.

I must now add a few words with regard to the extract of Lord Bute's letter to my mother, which is quoted by Lord Mountstuart. Lord Bute mentions, "that Sir James Wright communicated to him the very flattering language in which Sir James declared Lord Chatham expressed himself concerning Lord Bute." I am very far from questioning, that Sir James Wright expressed himself in the manner stated by Lord Bute; but I must observe, that Sir James does not pretend to have heard that Lord Chatham held such language, from any other person than from Dr. Addington; and whoever will take the trouble to recur to the Doctor's Narrative, will there find that the Doctor, in the beginning of this transaction, declared to Sir James Wright, that, to the best of his remembrance, *Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.*

Lord Bute, in another part of his letter, says, "that he was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to him. It was in substance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming condition we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it." Lord Bute cannot possibly here refer to any thing, except to the paper No. II. which is printed in the Authentic Account. The opinion contained in that paper of the necessary measures to be taken,

only in general terms, “that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, &c.” and this communication did not proceed spontaneously from my father, but was an answer to Sir James Wright’s letter, of February 2, which was by his desire communicated to Lord Chatham.

The latter part of Lord Mountstuart’s letter relates to Lord Chatham’s expression, *That Lord Bute had brought the King and Kingdom to ruin.* What reason Lord Chatham had at that time for thinking that Lord Bute influenced the measures of government, it would be presumption in me to examine; nor is it for me to enquire, whether he was or was not deceived in his opinion of the public ruin. But in this single instance, those who revere his memory the most will sincerely rejoice (as he himself would were he living) if they should find his opinion disproved by the event. I am, &c.

WILLIAM Pitt.

B. B.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

In consequence of the Address of the House of Commons on the 11th of May 1778, the body lay in state in the Painted Chamber on the 7th and 8th of June.

Tuesday,

Tuesday, the 9th, at two o'clock, the funeral procession began from the Painted Chamber, through Westminster Hall, New Palace Yard, part of Parliament-street, Bridge-street, King-street, the Broad Sanctuary to the West door of Westminster Abbey,

Order of the Procession.

High Constable of Westminster.

Messenger to the College of Arms, in a mourning cloak, with a badge of the College on his shoulder, his staff tipped with silver, and furled with sarsnet.

Six men conductors, in cloaks, with black staves headed with Earls coronets.

Seventy poor men, in cloaks, with the badges of the crest of Pitt on their shoulders and black staves in their hands.

The Standard.

Twelve servants to the deceased, in close mourning,
Officers of the wardrobe.

Physicians, and Divines, in close mourning.

Three chaplains to the deceased.

Officers who attended the body while it lay in state,
in close mourning.

Gentlemen and Esquires in close mourning.

Blue mantle pursuivant of arms.

A banner of the barony of Chatham, borne by Col.
Barre, attended by the Dukes of Northumberland,
Manchester, and Richmond, and the Marquis of
Rockingham, in close mourning.

The

The Great Banner.

The helmet and crest borne by Somerset herald.

The sword and targe by Windsor herald.

The surcoat by Richmond herald.

The coronet on a black velvet cushion by Norroy

King of Arms, between two gentlemen ushers,
with half staves.

Supporters of The BODY, Supporters of
the pall. covered with a the pall.
black velvet

Edm. Burke, Esq. pall adorned John Dunning,
with eight es- cutcheons of
the Earl's arms,
under a canopy
of black velvet,
supported by

Sir Geo. Sa- eight gentle- Rt. Hon Tho.
vile, Bart. men. Townshend.

The picture of Britannia weeping over the arms of
Chatham, painted on sarsnet.

A Gentleman Clarenceux A Gentleman
Usher, with a King of Arms, Usher, with a
half staff. Deputy to half staff.
Garter King of Arms.

Supporter to the Chief Supporter to the
Chief Mourner, Mourner, Chief Mourner,
W. Nedham, Esq. Hon. W. Pitt, Tho. Pitt, Esq.
Eight

Three bannercolls of the family lineage,
borne by three Esquires,

Three bannercolls of the family lineage,
borne by three Esquires,

Eight assistant mourners.

Earl of Cholmondeley.	Earl of Abington.
Earl Harcourt.	Earl of Effingham.
Lord Fortescue.	Lord Vis. Townshend.
Lord Camden.	Lord Wycomb.
	Banner of the crest of Pitt.
	Relations of the deceased.
Cha. Vis. Mahon,	eldest son of Philip Earl Stan-
	hope, and son-in-law to the deceased.
Thomas Grenville, Esq.	Richard Berenger, Esq.
Col. Rich. Grenville.	George Grenville, Esq.
Sir Watkin Williams	James Grenville, Esq.
Wynne, Bart.	Philip Earl Stanhope.
William Henry, Lord	George Lord de Ferrars.
Westcote,	Sir Ja. Cockburne, Bart.
	Banner of the arms of Pitt.

The procession closed by servants of the family, in
close mourning.

The six conductors, and seventy poor men, were divided and ranged on each side without the church-door, and the rest of the procession within the church.

At the entrance of Westminster Abbey (within the door) the Dean and Prebendaries, with the Choir, fell into the procession immediately after the Great Banner, and before the Heralds, who bore the trophies.

The Chief Mourner and his two Supporters were seated on chairs at the head of the body; the stools
were

were placed on the sides of the grave for the eight assistant mourners, and one at each end for the four supporters of the pall.

During the service in the church, the coronet and cushion were placed on the body, and the canopy and bannerolls held over it: the trophies were laid on a table placed behind the Chief Mourner's chair, covered with a black silk carpet fringed.

The service over, Clarenceux, Deputy to Garter, proclaimed the style; and the Earl's three officers breaking their staves, gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave.

The standard, banners, bannerolls, and trophies, having been deposited in the church, the procession returned to the Painted Chamber in the same order.

The service was read by the Bishop of Rochester.

The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester attended the funeral service.

Upon the coffin was a silver plate, on which was the following inscription:

The most noble and puissant William Pitt Earl of Chatham, Viscount Pitt, of Burton Pynsent, in the county of Somerset. Born the 15th of November 1708, Died at Hayes, in Kent, the 11th of May 1778.

His Lordship lies interred about twenty yards from the North entrance of Westminster Abbey.

Several Irish Earls and Viscounts attended; as did Sir William Draper, General Burgoyne, and several English Lords.

THE FOLLOWING IS A DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER-ABBEY.

THERE are six figures in this monument, and yet the idea on which it is designed is the simplest possible. Lord Chatham, with Prudence and Fortitude on a sarcophagus, occupy the upper part; the lower group consists of Britannia seated on a rock, with the Ocean and the Earth at her feet, by which is exhibited the effect of his wisdom and fortitude, in the greatness and glory of the nation. The statue of the Earl is in his Parliamentary robes; he is in the action of speaking, the right hand thrown forward and elevated, and the whole attitude strongly expressing that species of oratory for which his Lordship was so justly celebrated.—Prudence has her usual symbols, a serpent twisted round a mirror! Fortitude is characterised by the shaft of a column, and is cloathed in a lion's skin. The energy of this figure strongly contrasts the repose and contemplative character of the figure of Prudence. Britannia, as mistress of the sea, holds in her right hand the trident of Neptune; Ocean is entirely naked, except that his symbol, the dolphin, is so managed that decency is perfectly secured with the least possible detriment to the statue; his action is agitated, and his countenance severe, which is opposed by the utmost ease in the figure of the Earth, who is leaning on a terrestrial globe, her head crowned with fruit,

fruit, which also lies in some profusion on the plinth
of the statue—The inscription is as follows:

Erected by the King and Parliament,
As a Testimony to
The Virtues and Ability
of
WILLIAM Pitt, Earl of CHATHAM,
During whose Administration
Divine Providence
Exalted Great Britain
To an Height of Prosperity and Glory
Unknown to any former Age.

*An Account of the Proceedings of the City of London,
on the death of the Earl of Chatham.*

ON the twentieth day of May, 1778, a Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, when the first business that came on was a motion,

“ That it be referred to a Committee to prepare a petition to the House of Commons, expressing the gratitude which the Court feel for the several tributes paid by them to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham, and representing in very respectful terms to the said House, that this Court intreat their favourable interpretation of their wish, humbly to address his Majesty, that the said Earl may be deposited in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; upon which a Committee was appointed, who withdrew immediately.

immediately, and returning into Court, presented a petition for the above, which being twice read, was agreed to and ordered to be signed by the Town Clerk, and presented forthwith to the Hon. the House of Commons.

"Resolved, That the desire of the Court of Common Council is to attend the funeral of the Earl of Chatham in their gowns.

"Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a letter to the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, requesting that such their desire may be humbly signified to his Majesty, and that his faithful citizens pray his Majesty to be graciously pleased to order the necessary notice to be given, in case his Majesty should be pleased to acquiesce in their attendance by the proper officer." The Committee being appointed, accordingly withdrew, and returning, presented a letter, which being read, was agreed to, and ordered to be forwarded to the Lord Chamberlain by Mr. Remembrancer."

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE LORD MAYOR,
ALDERMEN, AND COMMONS, OF THE CITY OF
LONDON, IN COMMON COUNCIL ASSEMBLED,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners humbly beg leave to return their grateful thanks to this honourable House,

for the noble and generous testimony which it has borne to the services and merits of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

And your petitioners, with all humility, desire, that their zeal may not seem unpleasing to this Honourable House, or be interpreted as a wish in your petitioners to vary from the general sense of their country, as expressed in the late votes of this honourable House, by their requesting, That the remains of the late Earl of Chatham be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

Your petitioners further represent to this honourable House, that they entirely feel the delicacy of their situation, in consequence of the several measures taken by this honourable House: but hope that a favourable interpretation will be put upon any particular marks of gratitude and veneration which the first commercial city of the empire is earnest to express towards the statesman, whose vigour and counsels had so much contributed to the protection and extension of its commerce.

By order of the Court,

R IX.

This petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

At another Court of Common Council held at Guildhall, on the twenty-fifth of May, the following address and petition to the King was agreed to. And the Sheriff (at that time Mr. Alderman Clarke) being

being desired to wait upon his Majesty to know when he would receive the said petition, the King asked what was the subject of the petition? The Sheriff answered, that he had no concern with the contents of it; his message was only to ask, when his Majesty would be pleased to receive it; upon which the King answered, *Well, then, let it be Friday se'nnight* (which was the fifth of June). On that day the following address and petition was presented.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.
THE HUMBLE ADDRESS AND PETITION OF THE
LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN AND COMMONS OF
THE CITY OF LONDON, IN COMMON COUNCIL
ASSEMBLED.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble and dutiful thanks, for the repeated and signal marks of your royal attention to the public sense of gratitude due to the memory of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as truly expressed by the resolution of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

And we humbly hope for your Majesty's most gracious indulgence, when the testimonies, thus paid to the public virtues of this illustrious Statesman, encourage your most faithful corporation to intreat

that the metropolis of your empire may be admitted to a share in the expressions of public veneration to a minister, so exemplary for his integrity, ability and virtue. For this purpose we humbly beseech your Majesty, in your royal condescension, would give permission, that the remains of the said Earl of Chatham be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul in the city of London.

We hope that we are not guilty of unwarrantable presumption in conceiving, that our wishes on this subject, are not inconsistent with those of the Hon. House of Commons : and we flatter ourselves, that if your Majesty should graciously acquiesce in this our humble prayer, it cannot fail to be agreeable to the family of the deceased, whose attention to us on all proper occasions it is our pride to remember, who condescended to become our fellow citizen, and to whom, could he have foreseen it, we are convinced this attempt to cherish his memory would not have been unacceptable.

And we beg farther humbly to represent to your Majesty, that we feel ourselves sincerely happy in thinking, that in this our humble petition we shew our duty and attachment to our most gracious sovereign, and the illustrious House of Brunswick, by our respect to one of their most zealous and faithful servants ; at the same time that we express our gratitude, as a commercial body, to a man, who so signally supported its interests ; and humbly pray,
that

that the noblest edifice in your Majesty's dominions, may become the depository of the remains of one amongst the noblest of your subjects.

His Majesty's Answer.

In consequence of the address from the House of Commons, That a monument should be erected to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, it has been ordered that his remains be there interred, and necessary preparations have been made for that purpose.

On the sixtb of June, another Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, when the Lord Mayor had acquainted the court with the King's answer to their address and petition, a debate ensued, in consequence of Lord Hertford's letter to the Remembrancer, in answer to a message from the Court, the copies of which are as follows:

"**M Y L O R D,**

" His Majesty's faithful Corporation of London, wishing to shew every proper respect in their power to the memory of his late Majesty's zealous and most disinterested servant and subject, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and wishing to express their own particular gratitude to the memory of that illustrious statesman, who so gloriously protected the commerce of his country, desire your Lordship humbly to re-

quest his Majesty, that his faithful corporation may receive timely notice from the proper officers of such his Majesty's gracious acquiescence, together with the necessary instructions for regulating their attendance.

I am, my Lord, &c.

PETER ROBERTS."

Lord Hertford's Letter.

" SIR,

" HAVING through your hands, received the request of the Corporation of London, praying his Majesty to permit them to attend the funeral of the late Earl of Chatham, I am to acquaint you, that I have laid the same before his Majesty, who is pleased to comply with the said request, and has directed me to give public and timely notice of the said funeral, that all such gentlemen of the Corporation who propose it may have an opportunity of attending as they desired.

I am, Sir, &c.

HERTFORD."

Grosvenor-street, May 25.

ESDAILE, MAYOR,

A COMMON COUNCIL HOLDEN IN THE CHAMBER
OF THE GUILDHALL OF THE CITY OF LONDON,
ON SATURDAY THE 6TH DAY OF JUNE, 1778.

THIS Court not having yet received any answer to their desire of having timely notice to attend the funeral

funeral

of the late Earl of Chatham, and information having been given by a member of this Court, that that solemnity is ordered for Tuesday next; it is therefore now resolved, that the former resolution for attending the funeral of the said Earl be rescinded.

His Majesty having refused to comply with the request of this Court, on their humble desire to have the remains of the late Earl of Chatham buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, Resolved unanimously, nevertheless, that a Committee be now appointed to consider what further mark of respect is most fit to perpetuate the memory of that excellent and disinterested statesman, in the time of whose administration the citizens of London never returned from the throne dissatisfied.

In consequence of the Remembrancer having been called upon by this Court, to state what passed in the King's closet, when the Sheriff last attended St. James's, and it appearing that an unusual question had been asked, to which the Sheriff declined giving any answer—Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this Court be given to Mr. Sheriff Clark, for his very prudent conduct upon that occasion.

R I X.

The Committee resolved, That a magnificent monument to the memory of the deceased Earl of Chatham, should be erected in Guildhall. And the Court agreed to the report of the Committee.

THE

THE FOLLOWING IS A DESCRIPTION OF THE CENOTAPH, ERECTED IN GUILDHALL, TO THE MEMORY OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

ELEVATED on a base, fixed to a rock, the Earl of Chatham, in the habit of a Roman senator, appears gracefully looking on a figure representing the city of London ; his left hand sustains the helm of government, whilst his right embraces Commerce, who, charged with her proper attributes, is most delightfully smiling on her kind protector, through whose zeal, assisted by the four quarters of the world, she is pouring plenty into the lap of Britannia.

The City, in her mural crown, with a look of gratitude, is addressing her noble friend, pointing the while to Commerce ; at her feet are placed the emblems of Industry, and on her right hand those of Justice and Power. Upon the plinth is engraved the following inscription :

“ In grateful acknowledgment to the Supreme Disposer of events, who, intending to advance this nation for such time as to his wisdom seemed good, to an high pitch of prosperity and glory, by unanimity at home---by confidence and reputation abroad ---by alliance, wisely chosen and faithfully observed ---by colonies united and protected---by decisive victories by sea and land---by conquest made by arms and generosity in every part of the globe---and by commerce,

commerce, for the first time, united with, and made to flourish by war---was pleased to raise up as the principal instrument in this memorable work,

W I L L I A M . P I T T ,

“ The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, mindful of the benefits which the City of London received in her ample share in the general prosperity, have erected to the memory of this eminent statesman and powerful orator, this monument in her Guildhall ; that her citizens may never meet for the transaction of their affairs, without being reminded, that the means by which providence raises a nation to greatness, are the virtues infused into great men ; and that to withhold from those virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of esteem and veneration, is to deny to themselves the means of happiness and honour.

“ This distinguished person for the service rendered to King George II. and to King George III. was created

L O R D C H A T H A M .

“ The British nation honoured his memory with a public funeral and a public monument, amongst her illustrious men in Westminster Abbey.

Under this is an oval medallion, charged with the cap of liberty, inscribed upon the front *Libertas*, richly

richly adorned with laurels, festoons, &c.—The back of the whole is a slab of most beautiful variegated marble,

A beautiful marble Urn is put up at Burton Pynsent, by the Countess of Chatham; upon which is the following:

Sacred to pure affection,
 This simple Urn
 Stands a witness of unceasing grief for Him,
 Who,
 Excelling in whatever is most admirable,
 And adding to the exercise of the sublimest virtues,
 The sweet charm of refined sentiment,
 And polished wit:
 By gay social converse,
 Render'd, beyond comparison, happy
 The course of domestic life;
 And bestowed a felicity inexpressible
 On Her,
 Whose faithful Love was blessed in a pure return,
 That raised her above every other joy
 But the parental one—
 And that still shared with him.
 His generous country, with public monuments,
 Has eternized his fame;
 This humble tribute,
 Is but to soothe the sorrowing breast
 Of private woe.

The foregoing inscription is on the pedestal of the Urn. On the front of the Urn is a medallion, with the head of the late Earl of CHATHAM; and on the opposite side of the Urn is another medallion, in which the following words are contained:

To
The Dear Memory
Of
William Pitt,
Earl of Chatham,
This marble
Is inscribed,
By Hester,
His beloved wife.

This Urn, and the two monuments, were executed by Mr. Bacon.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE or THE PEERAGES IN THE FAMILY of PIIT.

NICHOLAS PIIT, tem. Hen. VII.

William—Eleanor Naviland.

John—Joan Swaine.

Sir William—Edith Cadbury.

Edward—Rachael Morton.

George—Jane Savage, da. of Earl Rivers.

George—Lucy Pile

George—Louisa Bernier.

George,—Penelope Atkins,
now Lord Rivers.

Thomas,—Christian Lyttleton,
of Bo-

Thomas,—A. Wilkinson.
now Lord

Canelford.

Thomas. Anne.

John,

M. E. Town-

shend, 2d E. of Chat-

ham, K. G. and Lord

President.

John—Sarah Jay.

Thomas,—Jane Innes.
gov. of
Fort St.
George.

Robert,—Harriet Villers,
of Bo- fitter to the Earl
connic. of Grandison*.

Thomas,—Frances Ridgway,
created da. of the E. of
E. of Lon. Londonderry.

donderry.

William.—Hester Grenville,
created E. of Chatham.

John—Sarah Charles.
William, James Charles.
first Lord of Dead.

the Treasu-
fury, &c. &c.

* The Earl of Grandison's children all dying without issue, except one daughter, who married A. J. Mason, Esq. Lord Chatnam in 1766 created her Countess of Grandison. Her eldest son now enjoys the title.

The other branches extend to so many families, it is impossible to include them all in a table.

They are as follows:

John Pitt (the third in descent) who married **Joan Swaine**, had issue three sons and two daughters.

1. Agnes, married to Anthony Dennet.
2. Elizabeth married to Jonadab Shirley.
3. Sir William, married to Edith Cadbury (*as in the table*)
4. John, settled in Ireland.
5. Thomas, settled at Blandford in Dorsetshire.
He married Priscilla, the daughter of —— Serie, Esq. of Hayle, in Devon; by whom he had two daughters and five sons.
 1. Temperance, married to —— Cockran, Esq.
 2. Margaret, to Augustine Drake, Esq.
 3. Robert, of Blandford, who married Margaret, daughter of John Guy, Esq.
 4. John, *of whom hereafter*.
 5. William, who died without issue, in 1687.
 6. Edward.
 7. Christopher.

Which John was Rector of Blandford 1641.

He married Sarah, daughter of John Jay, Esq. by whom he had nine children.

1. John, born 1649.
2. Sarah, married in 1670, to the Rev. Henry Willis, afterwards Rector of Blandford.
3. Thomas, born in 1653, who was Governor of Fort St. George, in the East Indies.
4. George.
5. Dorothy.

5. Dorothy.
6. Richard. } Died young.
7. Edward.

Two who died infants.

We now return to Sir William Pitt. He was comptroller of the Household in the reigns of Elizabeth; James I. and Charles I. He was knighted at Newmarket in 1618, purchased the manor of Stratfield-Say, in Hants, which continues to be the residence of his family. He married Edith, daughter to and co-heiress of Nicholas Cadbury, of Wareham, Esq. by whom he had four daughters and three sons.

1. Frances, married to Clement Walker, Esq.
2. Elizabeth, first married to Richard Wheeler, Esq. and afterwards to Sir Francis Brandling.
3. Mary, first married to Sir Alexander Chocke, and afterwards to John Rudhall, Esq.
4. Catherine, married to —— Venables, Esq.

The three Sons were,

1. Edward, his heir.
2. John.
3. William, who married Abigail, daughter of Sir William Wake, of Cleveland, in Somersetshire, Bart. by whom he had three sons, Edward, Baldwin, William, who all died without issue; and a daughter Abigail, who married Ralph Lord Stawell,

Edward,

Edward, the heir, married Rachael, daughter of Sir George Morton, of Melborn, Dorset, Bart., by whom he had ten sons and four daughters.

1. William.
2. Edward.
3. George, of whom hereafter.
4. John. He married Catherine, daughter of Nicholas Venables, of Andover, Esq. by whom he had one son, George Morton Pitt, of Twickenham, Esq. which George was Member for Pomeroy, and died in January 1756, leaving issue only one daughter, who married Lord Brownlow Bertie, and died in 1763.
5. Thomas, who married Frances, daughter of Giles Cossey, of Compton in Gloucestershire.
6. Nicholas.
7. Samuel.
8. Francis, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Jeffrey Jeffreys, of Abercunick, in the county of Brecon.
9. Edward. And 10. Christopher.

His Daughters were,

1. Edith, married to Charles Sydenham, son of Sir Edward Sydenham, Knight Marshall.
2. Rachael, married to John Kingsmill, of Sandelford, Berks, Esq.
3. Catherine, married to Francis Whitaker, Esq. of St. Martin's. Middlesex.
4. Elizabeth, who died an infant.

George, the eldest surviving son and heir, married Jane, eldest daughter of John Savage, Earl Rivers (widow of George Lord Sudley) and co-heiress of her nephew, Lord Morley and Mont-eagle. By her he had four sons and four daughters.

1. George, his heir.
2. William. 3. Edward. Both died without issue.
4. John, who married, first, Mary, daughter of — Scrope, Esq. but had no issue; and secondly, Isabella, daughter of — Condon, Esq. by whom he had two daughters, Lora and Isabella.

The Daughters were,

1. Mary, married to Sir W. Brown, of Kiddington, Oxon. Bart.
2. Elizabeth, married to Thomas Viscount Fitz-william.
3. Jane, married to Christopher Hildyard, Esq.
4. Anne, married to Frederick Tylney, Esq.

George, eldest son and heir, married, first, Lucy, daughter of Thomas Pile, of Beeverstock, Wilts, Esq. widow of Lawrence Lowe, of Shaftesbury, Esq. by whom he had two sons and one daughter.

1. George, his heir.
2. Thomas, who died without issue.
3. Lucy, who died unmarried.

He married, secondly, Lora, daughter and heiress of Audley Grey, of Kingston, Dorset, Esq. by whom he had four sons and five daughters.

1. Grey,

1. Grey, who died an infant.
2. William, who died without issue.
3. John, of Encombe, in Dorsetshire, who married Marcia, daughter of Marcus Morgan, of Ireland, Esq. by whom he had a daughter, named Marcia, and four sons, 1. William Morton, married in 1782 to Margaret, daughter of John Gambier, one of the Representatives of the county of Dorset; 2. George, who died in 1768; 3. Charles; and 4. John, who died infants.
4. John, who died without issue.

His Daughters were,

1. Elizabeth, married to William Burton, Esq.
2. Lora, married to Francis Gwynn, of Ford Abbey, in Dorsetshire.
3. Anne.
4. Mary. } Who died unmarried.
5. Mary.

George, the heir, married Louisa, daughter of — Bernier, Esq. by whom he had four sons, and two daughters.

1. Lucy, married to James Kerr, of Scotland, Esq.
2. Mary, who died in August 1774.
3. George, created Lord Rivers in 1776.
4. James. 5. Thomas. Both died without issue.
6. William Augustus, married Mary, daughter of Scrope, Lord Howe.

George, Lord Rivers, married, in January 1745, Penelope, daughter of Sir Henry Atkins, of

Clapham, Surry, Bart. by whom he has issue one son, George, lately Member for the county of Dorset; and three daughters.

1. Penelope, married to the Earl of Ligonier, and afterwards divorced.
2. Louisa, married to Peter Beckford, Esq.
3. Marcia-Lucy.

Here we must return to the issue of Thomas Pitt, who was Governor of Fort St. George. He was distinguished from the other governors of that fortress, as well as from the other persons of his family, by the appellation of Diamond Pitt, from the circumstance of his having purchased, while resident at Fort St. George, a very large and very fine diamond, which, when he returned to England in the reign of Queen Anne, he offered to her Majesty, but the ministry declined the purchase of it; upon which it was sold to the Duke of Orleans, at that time Regent of France, and was placed in the crown of Louis XV. and XVI. [For a further account of this diamond, see a note in chapter XXVIII. and see also the last article but one of this Appendix, entitled, Anecdotes of Thomas Pitt, Esq. Governor of Fort St. George.]

When he returned from the East Indies he was offered a peerage, but he begged the Queen's permission to decline it.

He married Jane Innes, daughter of Adam Innes, of Reid-hall, in the county of Murray, Bart. by whom he had two daughters and three sons,

1. Lucy,

1. Lucy, married to James, the first Earl Stanhope.
2. Essex, married to Charles Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal in Cheshire.

The Sons were :

1. Robert, of Boconnic, in Cornwall; of whom hereafter.
2. Thomas, who married Lady Francis Ridgeway, daughter and coheiress of Robert, Earl of Londonderry : who dying without male issue, he was created first Baron and afterwards Earl of Londonderry. He had two sons, Thomas and Ridgeway, who were successively Earls of Londonderry, and both died unmarried; and one daughter, Lady Lucy, who married Pierce Meyrick, of Bodorgan, in Anglesea, Esq.
3. John; he married Mary, sister of Lord Fauconberg, but had no issue.

Robert of Boconnic married Harriet Villiers, sister to John Earl of Grandison; by whom he had five daughters and two sons.

1. Harriet, married to Sir William Corbet, of Stoke, Salop, Bart.
2. Catherine, married to Robert Nedham, of Ireland, Esq.
3. Anne, maid of honour to Queen Caroline, and privy purse to the late Prince of Wales.
4. Elizabeth, married to John Hannam, Esq.
5. Mary.

The Sons were:

1. Thomas of Boconnoc, who married Christian Lyttleton, sister to the late George Lord Lyttleton, by whom he had issue two daughters and one son, viz. Amelia, married to William Spry, LL.D. and Christian, married to Thomas Saunders, Esq. Governor of Fort St. George. His son was Thomas; he was created Lord Camelford in 1783; and died in 1794. He married Anne, daughter and coheir of Pinckney Wilkinson, of Burnham, in Norfolk, Esq. by whom he had one son, Thomas, now Lord Camelford, born in 1775, and Anne, born 1772, who in August 1792, married Lord Grenville, second son of George Grenville, Esq. who was first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the years 1764 and 1765.
2. William. (Some particulars of whose life have been the subject of this work.) He married Hester Grenville on the 6th of November, 1754, daughter of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, in Bucks, Esq. by Hester, sister to Lord Cobham, of Stowe, in that county. He was created Earl of Chatham, as hath been already mentioned in chapter XXXI. and his Lady was created a peeress in her own right upon his resignation in 1761. See chapter XX. He had issue three sons and two daughters.

1. John

1. John, now Earl of Chatham, born October 9, 1756; married on the 9th of July, 1783, to Mary Elizabeth Townshend, daughter of Lord Viscount Sydney; but has no issue. His Lordship was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty in September, 1788, and a Knight of the Garter in 1791. His Lordship resigned the Admiralty in December, 1794, and was at the same time appointed Lord Privy Seal.
2. William, born May 28, 1759, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer July 10, 1782, and first Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c. &c. on the 27th of December, 1783.
3. James-Charles, born April 24, 1761, *dead.*

His Daughters were,

1. Lady Hester, born October 18 1755, married to Earl Stanhope. Her Ladyship died in July 1780.
2. Lady Harriet, born April 14, 1758, married to the Hon. E. J. Eliot, eldest son to Lord Eliot. Her Ladyship died in August 1786.

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY OF LORD
CHATHAM'S WILL.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF ME,
WILLIAM EARL OF CHATHAM.

WHEREAS previous to the marriage of my dear daughter with Lord Mahon, there was a sum of

twenty-six thousand pounds, or thereabouts, vested in the public funds, and chargeable upon my estate at Hayes, in Kent; to which said sum I and my dear wife, Lady Chatham, had a power of disposition or appointment, that is to say, to the best of my recollection, in moieties of six thousand pounds, part thereof was settled on or disposed of by me to my said daughter, Lady Mahon on her marriage aforesaid; wherefore there remains a sum of seven thousand pounds subject to my said disposition or appointment: Now, therefore, I give and bequeath the same in manner following, that is to say, I give and bequeath the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds, part thereof to my dear son, William Pitt, for his own use and benefit; I give and bequeath the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, other part thereof, to my dear son, James-Charles Pitt, for his own use and benefit; and I give and bequeath the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, residue thereof, to my dear daughter, Lady Harriot Pitt, for her own proper use and benefit. The said three several sums abovementioned to be paid to my said three children, with all convenient speed after my decease, by my Executors and Trustees hereinaster named. And as to the other moiety of the above-mentioned sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, which I apprehend to be within the disposition of my said dear wife, I do hereby earnestly desire and recommend

to my said dear wife, that she will, pursuant to our present wishes and intention, dispose of the same in manner following: And so far as by law I may, I will and direct accordingly, that is to say, that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said son, William, as will make what I have herein before bequeathed to him a compleat sum of ten thousand pounds; that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said son, James-Charles, as will make what I have herein before bequeathed to him a compleat sum of five thousand pounds; and that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said daughter, Lady Harriet, as will make what I have herein before bequeathed to her a compleat sum of five thousand pounds; and as to, for and concerning all the rest and residue of my personal estate whatsoever, and all my real estates wheresoever the same may be situate, lying, and being, I give, devise, and bequeath the same, subject to my debts and legacies, to my dear wife, Lady Chatham, Richard Earl Temple, and Charles Lord Camden, and the survivors and survivor of them, their heirs and assigns, to, for and upon the trusts following, that is to say, in the first place by and out of the said residue of my personal estate, and so much out of my real estate, as they shall think proper to apply for that purpose, to pay off, satisfy, and discharge my just debts, and such legacies as I may hereafter give and bequeath by Codicil to this my Will, or otherwise,

wise, together with my funeral expences and the charges of executing this my Will, and the trusts thereof; and in the next place, to permit and suffer my said dear wife to receive and take to her own proper use and benefit, for and during the term of her natural life, the rents, issues, profits, and produce of my said real and personal estates; and from and immediately after her decease, I give and devise all my said real estates, wheresoever situate, lying, or being, to my dear son, Lord Viscount Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, I give and devise the same to the said Richard Earl Temple, and Charles Lord Camden, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor in trust, to preserve the contingent remains hereinafter limited, from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son, Lord Viscount Pitt, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of the said Lord Viscount Pitt, and the issue male of the respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their issue male, to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear son, William Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life; and from and immediately after his decease, I give and devise the same to my said Trustees, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns

assigns of such survivor, in trust to preserve the contingent remainders hereinafter limited, from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son, William, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of my said son, William, and the issue male of their respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their issue male, to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear son, James-Charles Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life, and from and immediately after the determination of that estate, I give and devise the same to my said Trustees, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor and in trust, to preserve the contingent remainders hereinafter limited from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son, James-Charles, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of my said son, James-Charles, and the issue male of their respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their issue male to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear daughters, Lady Mahon, and Lady Harriot Pitt, their heirs and assigns, for ever to hold the same in equal moieties, as tenants in common, and not as joint-tenants. And I do hereby will and direct, that all persons,

persons, who, by virtue of the limitations of this my Will, shall come into the possession of my real estates hereby devised, shall have any power to lease the same, or any part thereof, for any term, not exceeding twenty-one years, so as the usual covenants be contained in such lease, and the full annual rent be received, and no fine taken on granting the same. And I do hereby authorize and empower my said Trustees, and the survivors and survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, at any time or times, after my death, at their will and pleasure, to sell and dispose of all or any part of my real and personal estates before-mentioned; and after paying my debts, legacies, and charges before mentioned, to invest and lay out the monies produced by such sales in the purchase of other lands and tenements; and till such purchases can be made, I will, and direct, that the monies arising by such sale and sales, shall go and be considered as real estates, and be subject to the limitations herein before directed, concerning my said real estate. And I do appoint my said dear wife, Lord Temple, and Lord Camden, Joint Executors of this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former and other Wills by me made. As witness my hand, this twenty-second day of April 1775.

CHATHAM. (L. S.)

Signed, sealed, published, and declared, as and for the Last Will and Testament of William Earl of Chatham,

Chatham, before us, who in his presence, and at his request, and in the presence of each other, set our names as Witnesses thereto.

GILES HOMER,
FLACK BRADSHAW, } Esqrs.
CHRISTIAN WILLBIER,

Amongst the many great qualities of the Earl of Chatham, he sometimes amused himself with poetry, in which there is no doubt he would have excelled, if more momentous pursuits had not occupied his mind. The following lines were addressed to David Garrick, Esq. when he was on a visit at Mount Edgecumbe.

Verfes addreſſed to Edward Garrick by the Earl of Chatham.

LEAVE, Garrick, the rich landscape, proudly gay,
Docks, forts, and navies, bright'ning all the bay :
To my plain roof repair, primæval seat !
Yet there no wonders your quick eye can meet,
Save, should you deem it wonderful to find,
Ambition cur'd, and an unpassioned mind ;
A statesman without power, and without gall,
Hating no courtiers, happier than them all ;
Bow'd to no yoke, nor crouching for applause ;
Vot'ry alone to freedom, and the laws.

Herd,

Herds, flocks, and smiling Ceres deck our plain,
 And, interspers'd, an heart-enliv'ning train
 Of sportive children frolic o'er the green ;
 Mean time pure love looks on, and consecrates the
 scene.

Come, then, immortal spirit of the stage,
 Great nature's proxy, glass of ev'ry age !
 Come, taste the simple life of Patriarchs old
 Who, rich in rural peace, ne'er thought of pomp
 or gold.

Mr. Garrick's Answer.

WHEN Peleus' son, untaught to yield,
 Wrathful forsook the hostile field,
 His breast still warm with heav'nly fire,
 He tun'd the lay, and swept the lyre.

So Chatham, whose exalted soul
 Pervaded and inspir'd the whole,
 Where far, by martial glory led,
 Britain her sails and banners spread,
 Retires (tho' wisdom's God dissuades)
 And seeks repose in rural shades.
 Yet thither comes the God confess'd ;
 Celestial form ! a well-known guest.

Nor slow he moves with solemn air,
 Nor on his brow hangs pensive care ;

Nor

Nor in his hand th' historic page
Gives lessons to experienc'd age,
As when in vengeful ire he rose,
And plann'd the fate of Britain's foes,
While the wing'd hours obedient stand,
And instant speed the dread command.

Chearful he came, all blythe and gay,
Fair blooming like the son of May ;
Adown his radiant shoulder hung
A harp, by all the Muses strung :
Smiling he to his friend resign'd
This soother of the human mind.

OF LORD CHATHAM's ELOCUTION.

(WRITTEN IN 1779.)

OF all the characteristic features, by which his oratory was distinguished, none was more eminent than the bold purity and classical force of phraseology.

Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence—who have listened to the music of his voice, or trembled at its majesty—who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force ; those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye---who have rejoiced at the glories of his countenance---or shrank from his frowns

frowns,---will remember the restless power with which he impressed conviction. In these sketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to the picture, by re-figuring to their minds what they have with admiration seen.---But, to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary, to form a just idea of that combination of excellence, which gave perfection to his eloquence:---his elevated aspect commanding the awe and mute attention of all who beheld him; whilst a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received:---his venerable form, bowed with infirmity and age; but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue:--- his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and cloathing his lips with thunder; or, if milder topics offered, harmonizing his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness; for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic for the ease and gaiety with which he could accommodate to the occasion. But the character of his oratory was dignity: this presided throughout; giving force because securing respect,

respect, even to his fallies of pleasantry. This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions; so that in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory*.

This extraordinary personal dignity, supported on the basis of his well-earned fame, at once acquired to his opinions an assent which is slowly given to the arguments of other men. His assertions rose into proof; his foresight became prophecy. Besides the general sanction of his character, and the decisive dignity with which he pronounced his sentiments, it was also well known that he carefully cultivated the most authentic channels of intelligence. And it was an additional and just praise to him, that he exerted the great influence of his name, and all his opportunities, to investigate the purest sources of political information. But, as the activity of his public zeal stimulated him to such exertion: so the superiority of his genius directed him to higher sources. For other men, even the mechanical medium of official knowledge is a sphere too laborious. Though Lord Chatham's duty did not disdain, his spirit soared above such little adventitious advantages: His was intelligence in a

* *Telum Oratoris*, CIC.—“ You talk, my Lords, of conquering America—of your numerous friends there, to annihilate the Congress—and your powerful forces to disperse her army:—I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch.”—LORD CHATHAM.

truer sense, and from the noblest source :—" from his own sagacious mind *."—His intuition, like faith, seemed superior to the common forms of reasoning. No clue was necessary to the labyrinth illuminated by his genius. Truth came forth at his bidding, and realized the wish of the philosopher—she was seen and beloved.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

(WRITTEN BY MR. WILKES.)

HE was born an orator, and from nature possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect, and even awe. A manly figure, with the eagle eye of the famous Conde, fixed your attention, and almost commanded reverence the moment he appeared ; and the keen lightning of his eye spoke the high respect of his soul, before his lips had pronounced a syllable. There was a kind of fascination in his look when he eyed any one askance. Nothing could withstand the force of that contagion. The fluent Murray † has faltered, and even Fox ‡ shrunk back appalled from an adversary " fraught with fire

* He is his own best expositor. See his speech on the papers relative to Falkland's island, in 1770. " Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence." *Vide Chap. 39.*

† Lord Mansfield.

‡ Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.

unquenchable,"

unquenchable," if I may borrow the expression of our great Milton. He had not the correctness of language so striking in the great Roman orator, but he had the *verba ardentia* the bold glowing words.

E U L O G I E S.

THE glories of Mr. Pitt's administration are the successes of the war, conducted under his auspices, accomplished by the wisdom of his plans, and the intrepidity inspired by his spirit. They will shine in the annals of England beyond the lustre of former ages. They will be eternal monuments of his amazing genius, resolution and sagacity. They will prove him not only the boldest, but the wisest minister England ever saw. To enumerate the objects of our praise, would be to recapitulate the transactions of his administration. Such a recapitulation is here attempted; but in a manner so inadequate to the theme, that the work must derive its only merit from its subject. Mr. Pitt's best historical eulogium will be the plainest truth; nor can faction or artifice fully the lustre of his eminent services. A whole people are neither to be bribed nor imposed upon. Envy may revile, and self-interest may seek to blacken; but his fame, in spite of every effort to blast it, in spite of all the assaults of low and little minds, will flourish while this kingdom or its language shall endure. He raised the power and grandeur of England to the highest

summit of glory and respect; he confounded and defeated her enemies in every quarter of the world: he strictly adhered to the letter of her engagements abroad, and he effected and preserved unanimity at home. The people daily testify their high sense of his many eminent services and distinguish his memory with an affection that does honour to their gratitude.

By the war carried on during his administration, we gained all the French settlements and towns on the continent in the East Indies; Senegal and Goree in Africa: Cape Bretón and St. John's, by which we extirpated the French from the fishery; all Canada, Guadaloupe, Martinico, Marigalante, Desirade, and the neutral islands, in America; baffled the mighty efforts of France in Europe; insulted and stripped her coasts; burned her shipping: ruined her navy, by repeated victories; blocked up her harbours: almost annihilated her trade; took Belleisle; and reduced her to bankruptcy. By the peace which succeeded these most glorious conquests, we restored every thing in the East Indies; Goree in Africa; granted the French an almost unlimited fishery in America; and for the loss of Cape Breton and St. John's, which were dismantled, we gave them the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, which another French King may fortify at pleasure; we restored also Belleisle, Guadaloupe, Martinico, Mariegalante, and Desirade, together with St.

Lucia,

Lucia, the only valuable neutral island. Other conquests were made in consequence of his plans, and they were restored also. Could our enemies have required more?—Ought they to have hoped for so much?—What then, did England gain by the honesty, the vigilance and wisdom of Mr. Pitt; the expence of many millions, and the loss of so many thousands of brave men?—Canada, an almost barren province; Florida, a sandy desert; Senegal, which, without Goree, does not in the least injure the French slave trade; three of the neutral islands, which are scarce worth our peopling; Grenada, which is too unwholesome to live in; and the Grenadines which no nation ever thought worth possessing. “ O may the conditions of such a peace, be engraved on the tomb-stone of its advisers.”*

When Mr. Pitt had reduced the French to their last resource, and had obliged them to seek refuge in the assistance of another state †; when by his masterly penetration, he discovered the joint design‡, and would have effectually frustrated it by a timely

* Alluding to Lord Bute's words in the House of Lords, on the day that the preliminary articles of peace were debated; when he said he wished to have no greater eulogium engraved upon his tomb, than having advised those terms of peace:

† Spain.

‡ The Family Compact.

and vigorous exertion of our national power, he was opposed in so salutary and necessary a measure. Events soon justified the councils which he gave. But as he had no other motive than the welfare of his country, and finding he could not promote that by such measures as he was convinced were right, he struggled not for a continuance of employment, but immediately resigned.

CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

THE Secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original, and unaccommodating; the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His august mind overawed Majesty; one of his Sovereigns thought royalty so impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his superiority*. No state chicanery, no narrow system of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable: his object was England—his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed party; without corruption, he made a venal age unanimous. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the House of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England. The sight of his mind was infinite, and his schemes were to affect, not

* Not George the Second.

England,

England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished; always seasonable, always adequate; the suggestions of an understanding, animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

The ordinary feelings which make life amiable and indolent, those sensations which soften, allure and vulgarize, were unknown to him: no domestic difficulties, no domestic weakness reached him; but aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unswayed by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system, to council and decide.

A character so exalted, so strenuous, so various, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age, and the Treasury trembled at the name of Pitt, through all her classes of venality. Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this statesman, and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories; but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her.

Nor were his political abilities his only talents. His eloquence was an æra in the senate; peculiar and spontaneous, familiarly expressing gigantic sentiments and instinctive wisdom; not like the torrent of Demosthenes, or the splendid conflagration of Tully; it resembled sometimes the thunder, and sometimes the music of the spheres. Like Mur-

ray, he did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtlety of argumentation; nor was he like Townshend *, for ever on the rack of exertion; but rather lightened upon the subject, and reached the point by the flushings of his mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

Upon the whole, there was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery afunder; and to rule the wilderness of free minds, with unbounded authority: Something that would establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world, that should resound through its universe.

A N O T H E R.

WE shall, for ages, revere the memory of a minister, who never had his equal, in the opinion of the nation, for wisdom and integrity. He kept no levees: he admitted no trifling company: he was embarrassed by no private connections, nor engaged in any intrigue: he never abused his power, by preferring an undeserving person, and was exceedingly scrupulous how he received recommendations: he despised those idle claims of rank and

* Charles Townshend.

seniority,

leniency, when they were not supported by services, which alone could entitle them to public trust : he confided in ability and worth wherever he found them, without any regard to wealth, family, parliamentary interest, or connection.—He was punctual in his office, and such was his attention to business, that the most minute occurrences passed not without his examination. During his administration, the faith of Great Britain was held inviolably sacred. Under his administration, all parties united for the common good, because all parties placed the utmost confidence in his abilities and integrity. The distinction of court and country parties, was dissolved in unanimity. A respectable militia was established : the natural strength of the nation was exerted by sea and land ; the terrors of an invasion were removed ; the British arms triumphed in every quarter of the globe ; trade and navigation were promoted and protected, and France was completely humbled. Conscious of his own virtue, he never sought to conceal any part of his conduct ; but, on the contrary, was always ready and forward to lay all his measures before the public. He observed such strict secrecy, that, during the whole of his administration, he gave no opportunity to the most penetrating, of discovering his designs to the enemy. He was a warm friend to constitutional liberty, civil and religious.

CHARACTER

CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

BY THE LATE KING OF PRUSSIA.

(From his Posthumous Works, Vol. III.)

IN the autumn of 1757, a change had been effected in the British ministry; Mr. Fox was succeeded by Mr. Pitt, whose lofty genius and persuasive eloquence rendered him the idol of the nation. He had the best understanding of any man in England. His superior talents had subdued the House of Commons; and when raised to the helm of affairs, he applied the whole vigour of his mind to render his country sovereign of the seas, without neglecting the measures which might retrieve her glory by land. The treaty which the Duke of Cumberland had entered into at Closter-Seven, he regarded with indignation, and considered as the reproach of England. The first measures which he adopted in the administration tended to destroy even the remembrance of that infamous negotiation. He persuaded the King his master to request Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick from the King of Prussia, and to set that General at the head of the Allies. By his advice, King George augmented his army in Germany, and entered into new engagements with the King of Prussia, and other Princes of that country. And the happy consequences of Mr. Pitt's measures were soon experienced in Germany, in America, and in every part of the world.

CHARACTER

CHARACTER OF MR. PITT,

BY THE ABBE REYNAL.

(From L'Histoire Philosophique & Politique.)

WILLIAM PITT, the favourite of the three kingdoms from his youth, for his integrity, his disinterestedness, his zeal against corruption, his inviolable attachment to the interests of his country, had a passion for great things, was possessed of an eloquence that was irresistible, and a genius that was at once enterprising and steady. His ambition was to raise his country above all the world, and himself along with her. Till the administration of Mr. Pitt, all the enterprizes of his nation in distant countries were unfortunate, and they could not be otherwise, because they were ill-concerted. But his projects were formed with such wisdom and utility ; his preparations were made with such forecast and expedition ; he so justly proportioned the means to the end ; he made so wise a choice of those in whom he was to repose a confidence ; he established such harmony between the land and sea service ; in short, he raised the heart of England so high, that his administration was nothing but a chain of conquests. His soul, still greater, looked down with contempt upon the idle clamours of those timid spirits, who charged him with squandering the public money. He answered in the words of

of Philip, the father of Alexander, “ Victory must be purchased with money, not money saved at the expence of victory.”

Speaking of Mr. Pitt’s resignation, he says, “ Whatever was the cause of his retreat, nothing but the blindest, most unjust, and violent enmity can assert, that he owed more to fortune than to his talents and his virtue.”

A N O T H E R.

(BY MR. BURKE.)

LORD CHATHAM. A great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called,

— *Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.*

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind; and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with

with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself; and for that reason, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an administration [in 1766] so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified Mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies: that it was indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assort'd at the same boards, stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name? --- Sir, you have the advantage of me --- Mr. Such-a-one --- I beg a thousand pardons" --- I venture to say, it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoke to each other in their lives; until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truklebed*.

* Supposed to allude to the Right Hon. Lord North, and George Cooke, Esq. who were made joint paymasters in the summer of 1766, on the removal of the Rockingham administration.

Sir, in consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan he had not an inch of ground to stand upon; when he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted, to seem, as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult

insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the Western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for this hour, became lord of the ascendant*.

To the Right Hon. the Countess of HILLSBOROUGH.

(Relict of the Right Hon. H. B. LEGGE.)

MADAM,

It is, I hope, with an honest scorn, and a truly virtuous indignation, that I read in the printed speech of a Mr. Smelt, who so remarkably distinguished himself at the York Meeting, a passage highly injurious to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham, and which I take upon me to say, is not founded in truth. Mr. Smelt most audaciously pronounces concerning my Lord Chatham, that "he was formed to glare a meteor in a storm, but by no means to conduct finances in the time of peace." I apply myself to your ladyship for the falsity of this assertion. No one knew the powers of Mr. Pitt better

* Charles Townshend.

better than your ladyship's former most excellent husband, Mr. Legge. I have heard a most intimate and confidential friend of that truly great man declare, that Mr. Legge delivered this opinion to him upon the character and talents of his friend, Mr. Secretary Pitt.

"Eminently, said he, as Mr. Pitt has distinguished himself as a War Minister, if he is permitted to make the peace, and to continue in power, the world will see him shine still more upon a peace establishment, than he did during the war."

I address this pointed contradiction of Mr. Smelt's judgment upon my Lord Chatham's state abilities to your Ladyship, because I think it highly probable, you may remember to have heard Mr. Legge speak of Lord Chatham to the same effect, as I hereby aver to have noted a gentleman highly in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's confidence affirm, that he did to him. I have the honour to be, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most humble servant,
Upper Brook-street, &c. &c &c.

Jan. 21, 1780.

A N O T H E R.

(BY LORD CHESTERFIELD.)

MR. PITTS owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and

and fortune; which latter, in others, too often supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune was only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his original destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it. Thus unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, and (if I may use that expression) to do the honours of his parts—but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbid him the idle dissipations, of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He, therefore, employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper, either procured or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge*. Thus by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life, was perhaps, the principal cause of its splendour.

His private life was stained by no vice, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal

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* Notwithstanding this insinuation, it is well known. Mr. Pitt when a boy at Eton, was the pride and boast of the school. Dean Bland, the master, valued himself upon having so bright a scholar. The old man shewed him to his friends, and to every body as a prodigy.

and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities, and crowned with great success, make what the world calls a Great Man.

He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing—qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones.

He had manners and address---but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents.

He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life, and had such a versatility of wit, that he would adapt it to all sorts of conversation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry; but he seldom indulged and seldom avowed it.

He came young into Parliament, and upon that great theatre he soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors*. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative, as well as the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able

* It is said that Sir Robert Walpole scarce heard the sound of his voice in the House of Commons, but he was alarmed and thunder struck; he told his friends, that he would be glad at any rate to muzzle that terrible cornet of horse. The minister would have promoted his rise in the army, provided he would have given up his seat in Parliament.

able to encounter him*, Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrank under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs †.

A FEW LINES BY JUNIUS.

(First published on the 15th of August, 1771.)

I DID not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. But I am called upon [by the Rev. Mr. Horne] to give my opinion. As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding ;---if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him, to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken

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* Hume Campbell and Lord Mansfield.

† Demosthenes was his great model in speaking; and we are told, that he translated some of his orations by way of exercise, several times over. But though he was delighted with the manner of this orator, who united a wonderful power of expression to the most forcible method of reasoning, yet he was equally master of the pleasing, diffuse, and passionate style of the Roman orator.

over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.

EXTRACTS FROM THE NORTH BRITON.

(Ascribed to Mr. Wilkes.) July 24, 1762.

"MERIT alone brought Mr. Pitt into the Ministry; merit alone kept him there. He was determined to come into no ministerial jobs: He spoke his mind freely on every occasion; when convinced, he was always ready to change his opinion, and alter his measures; but had the impudence to expect conviction before he did it. He never was afraid to bring the voice of the people to the ear of the Sovereign. He was always ready and forward to lay his own measures before the public. He was of such unshaken secrecy, that during the whole course of his ministry, he gave no opportunity to the most willing of discovering our designs to the enemy. He was of such unpardonable attention to business, that the most minute occurrences of his department passed not without examination. He was such a bigot to the interests of the public, that no private connections whatever, could induce him to prefer an undeserving person.—He was of such unbounded ambition, that raised the honour of the English name

to a much greater height than that of his predecessors. He was so extravagantly opposite to the measures usually adopted on such occasions, that he was foolishly resolved not to give up in treaty what we had gained in war. He ~~w~~ was so immoderate in his demands, that our enemies saw through them with a just indignation, and were convinced he would make a good peace, or none at all. He was so jealous of his ministerial reputation, and so envious of those who should succeed him, that, in order to prevent their doing any thing, he left them little or nothing to do."

Again, Nov. 20, 1762.

"Another copious source of calumny on Mr. Pitt has been the pretended desertion of the public at the most critical period. I did not expect to have seen this urged, after the great part Mr. Pitt acted through the last session of parliament. How nobly did he support the cause of his country? Did he at any one moment endeavour to sow the seeds of discord, or to kindle the least spark of faction? His zeal for the public; his firmness, spirit, and moderation were no less admired, than the solid wisdom, deep policy, and heroic magnanimity, of his counsils. His very enemies bear testimony to his patriotism and greatness of soul, under all the provocations of petulant, illiberal abuse, and on the most trying occasions. I have the satisfaction of hoping,

that through the next most important session, the public will reap the benefit of the clearest head, and the most upright heart."

Again, Jan. 1, 1763.

"Mr. Pitt alone seems to possess that great political virtue of governing kingdoms to their own satisfaction. This is so peculiar to Mr. Pitt, that the palm of virtue and ability was readily yielded to him by every man of every party. Mr. Pitt never fails to persuade, to awaken, to rouse the passions, and to gain them over to the side of truth and virtue. Mr. Pitt seems to feel the most sincere benevolence and disposition to do good. As that is the most firm and vigorous mind, which is not elated with prosperity, nor dejected in adversity, in this respect the virtue of Mr. Pitt appears compleat.

"Mr. Pitt was for many years the admiration of all his fellow-citizens: on a sudden the wicked arts, and false suggestions of a few malevolent and envious men, for a short time obscured his fame, and eclipsed his glory; but his conduct was the same; modesty, calm sense, and dignity attended him. Mr. Pitt has generosity and spirit, is abstemious, temperate, and regular; and by the most manly sense, and fine failies of a sportive imagination, can charm the whole day; and as the Greek said, his entertainments please the day after they are given."

On

On Mr. Pitt's resigning the Seals in 1761.

NE'ER yet in vain, did Heaven its omens send
 Some dreadful ills unusual signs portend!
 When Pitt resign'd, a nation's tears will own,
 Then fell the brightest jewel in the crown*.

Walton.

R. BROWNE.

The following Lines were written by David Garrick, Esq.

SHALL Chatham die, and be forgot?—O! No;
 Warm from its source, let grateful sorrow flow;
 His matchless ardour fir'd each fear-struck mind,
 His genius soar'd, when Britons droop'd and pin'd
 Whilst each *State Atlas* sunk beneath the load,
 His heart, unshook, with patriot virtue glow'd,
 Like Hercules, he free'd them from the weight,
 And on his shoulders fix'd the tottering state;
 His strength the monsters of the land defy'd.
 To raise his country's glory was his pride,
 And for her service, as he liv'd, he dy'd. }
 O! for his pow'rs, those feelings to impart,
 Which rouz'd to action every drooping heart.

* Alluding to the largest jewel falling out of the King's crown at his coronation.—Subsequent interpreters, however, have said this circumstance was ominous of the loss of America, and other dominions, which belonged to the British crown, at the time of his coronation.

+ In the prologue of Bonduca.

Written upon the Bust of the Earl of Chatham.

Her trophies faded, and revers'd her spear,
 See England's Genius bend o'er Chatham's bier;
 No more her sails thro' ev'ry clime unfurl'd,
 Shall spread his dictates o'er th' admiring world;
 No more shall accents nervous, bold and strong,
 Flow in full periods from his matchless tongue:
 Yet shall thy name, great shade, from age to age,
 Bright in poetic and historic page,
 Thine, and thy country's fate, congenial tell,
 By thee she triumph'd, and with thee she fell.

Inscription on the first Stone of Black Friars Bridge.

Ultimo die Octobris, anno ab incarnatione
 MDCCLX,
 auspicatissimo principe GEORGIO Tertio
 regnum jam ineunte,
 Pontis hujus, in reipublicæ commodum
 urbisq; majestatem,
 (Latè tum flagrante bello)
 á S. P. Q. L. suscepti,
 Primum Lapidem posuit
 THOMAS CHITTI, Miles,
 Prætor:
 ROBERTO MYLNE, Architæto,
 Utque apud posteros extet monumentum
 voluntatis suæ erga virum,

qui

qui vigore ingenii, animi constantiâ,
 probitatis & virtutis suæ felici quadam contagione,
 (faveinte Deo
 faustisque GEORGII Secundi auspiciis)
 Imperium Britannicum
 in Asiâ, Africâ, & Americâ,
 restituit, auxit, & stabilivit,
 Nec non patriæ antiquum honorem & auctoritatem
 inter Europe gentes instauravit;
 Civis Londinenses, uno consensu,
 Huic Ponti inscribi voluerunt nomen
GULIELMI PITT.

(*English'd thus:*)

On the last day of October, in the year 1760,
 and in the beginning of the most auspicious
 reign of GEORGE the Third,
 Sir THOMAS CHITTY, Knight, Lord Mayor,
 laid the first stone of this Bridge,
 Undertaken by the Common Council of London
 (amidst the rage of an extensive war)
 for the public accommodation,
 and ornament of the city:
 ROBERT MYLNE being the architect.
 And that there might remain to posterity
 a monument of this City's affection to the Man,
 who, by the strength of his genius,
 the steadiness of his mind,
 and a certain kind of happy contagion of his
 probity and spirit,

(under

(under the Divine favour,
and fortunate auspices of GEORGE the Second)
recovered, augmented, and secured,
the British Empire,
in Asia, Africa, and America,
And restored the antient reputation
and influence of his country,
amongst the nations of Europe:
The Citizens of London have unanimously voted
this Bridge to be inscribed with the name of
WILLIAM Pitt.

Anecdotes of Thomas Pitt, Esq. Governor of Fort St. George.)

He was born at Blandford, in the county of Dorset. His family was a very ancient and respectable one, which had been long seated in that county. In the latter part of the last century, he went to the East Indies, and was some time Governor of Fort St. George, then the chief settlement there. In that situation he acquired the great fortune, great at least for the time, which he possessed, and which it appears he employed, on his return to England, in a manner greatly to his honour. About the year 1709 or 1710, he quitted his situation at Fort St. George, and was succeeded by a brother of the celebrated Mr. Addison. In the year 1711 we find him returned to England, and settled at his native place; where, at the expence of 2000l. he almost rebuilt

rebuilt the Church, except the tower, and neatly paved and pewed the whole, adding also a north aisle for his burial-place. At the entrance of this aisle is placed the following inscription:

To the Glory of God,

Tho. Pitt, Esq. of this place,

In the year of our Lord 1711,

Very much repaired and beautified this Church;

Dedicating his substance to his Maker

In that place where he himself was first

Dedicated to his service.

In this pious action

He is alone his own example and copy;

This being but one specimen of many of the like
nature.

Thus, by building God's houses

He has wisely laid a most sure foundation
for his own;

And by honouring the name of the Almighty, has
transmitted himself to posterity,

By such actions as deserve, not only this perishing
Register, but also to be had in everlasting
Remembrance.

In 1716 he was made Governor of Jamaica, but resigned that post in 1717. He was Member of Parliament in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Parliaments of Great Britain, for old Sarum and Thirsk. Besides the Church of Blandford, St. Mary, he repaired and beautified, at his own expence, that of Stratford,

Stratford, in Wiltshire, and rebuilt Abbotston, in Hampshire. He died April 28, 1726, and was buried at Blandford.

The most extraordinary incident in this Gentleman's life was, his obtaining and disposing of the celebrated diamond which is still called by his name. It was purchased by him, during the time he was Governor of Fort St. George, for 48,000 pagodas, *i. e.* 20,400l. sterling, instead of 200,000, which the seller first asked for it. It was consigned to Sir Stephen Evance, Knt. in London, in the ship Bedford, Captain John Hudson, Commander, by a bill of lading, dated March 8, 1701-2, and charged to the Captain at 65000 pagodas only. It was reckoned the largest jewel in Europe, and weighed one hundred and twenty-seven carats. When polished, it was as big as a pullet's egg. The cuttings amounted to eight or ten thousand pounds.

It seems according to Laffels, to have been more valuable than the Great Duke of Tuscany's diamond, which was thought to have been the finest in Europe, almost an inch thick, weighing one hundred and thirty eight carats, and worth between jeweller and jeweller 100,000 crowns, and between Prince and Prince 150,000 crowns. Both these were much exceeded by a diamond brought in 1746 from the Brasils to the King of Portugal, which weighed 1680 carats and a half, and was valued at 224,000,000l. sterling.

“I am

"I am well informed," says Mr. Jefferys, (in his treatise on diamonds and pearls) it was sold for 135,000l. to the Duke of Orleans, [at that time Regent] on account of the French King, I think about the year 1717; but 5000l. thereof was given and spent in negotiating the sale of it. Now admitting it was sold for 135,000l. it is rating the stone but at 7l. 5s. od. *per carat*, with an overplus of 628l. 13s. od. which any one may know that is acquainted with the rule exhibited in the treatise. Again, the workmanship of the stone cost 5000l. so the diamond itself was sold but for 130,000l. which is but 903l. 18s. gd. above 7l. *per carat*.

"And this is a price much below its real worth, even at this time, in which diamonds bear not the value they did then: inasmuch as 8l. *per carat* is now the price of a stone of the mean or middle sort, not burthened with a useless and hurtful weight; therefore it being valued so much below one of that degree of goodness cannot be just, although it hath so much exuberant weight, if what is generally said of it be true, which is, that it approaches near to one of the first water, and hath only a small foul or spot in it, and that lying in such a manner as not to be discerned when the stone is set. Wherefore I judge it may be rated at least at 8l. *per carat*, which will make its present weight amount to 149,609l. 10s. and I conceive it will not be over-valuing it to estimate it at 150,000l."

It is said, by a late writer, that the Regent hesitated at an expence which the revenue did not seem in a condition to bear. But St. Simon represented to him, “ That it was below the dignity of the King of France to be deterred by the price from purchasing a piece which, as being singular in its kind, was of inestimable value, and would be an honour to the Crown to possess.” *Anquetil's Mémoirs of the Court of France*, vol. ii. p. 351. This writer also says, that the diamond weighed more than five hundred grains, was of the size of a large plum, perfectly white, without spot, and of an admirable water. Two millions were paid for it, and the seller was allowed to keep the filings. As the sum could not be paid in ready money, interest was given.

At the funeral of Mr. Pitt, a Sermon was preached at Blandford St. Mary, May 21, 1726, by Richard Eyre, A. M. Canon Residentiary of Sarum, from which we shall extract the following passages :

“ I believe few men pass through the world without some share of those sufferings which we may allow to be called unjust, if we look no further than the hand of the oppressor who does the wrong, or the tongue of the slanderer, which this person (*i. e.* Mr. Pitt), whose prosperity was so wonderful, could not escape. That he should have enemies is no wonder, when Envy will make them ; and when their malice could reach him no other way, it is as little

little to be wondered at, that they should make such an attempt upon his credit by an abusive story, as if it had been by some stretch of his power that he got that diamond which was of too great value for any subject to purchase; an ornament more fitly becoming an imperial crown; which, if it be considered, may be one reason why it was brought to the Governor by the merchant who sold it in the Indies; and it was brought to him more than once or twice, before he could be persuaded to part with so great a sum of money for it as it cost him; of which (if I may be allowed in this place to take so much notice of it) I have seen an authentic and clear account, such as I will venture to say, will entirely satisfy every good or reasonable man, that *that story* could have no foundation but in the malice of him who invented it.

" And if, when such a viper fastened on an innocent person, any of you were prompted too hastily to think the worse of him, when you see it shaken off, it must change your opinion, and may well raise your thoughts of him who bore so horrid an abuse with so much patience, as, for his more effectual vindication, to wait the time of his going to appear before God, to whom he makes his appeal in the most solemn manner for the truth of that account which he left to be opened at his death."

The important acquisition of this diamond occasioned many reflections injurious to the honour of Governor

Governor Pitt; and Mr. Pope has been thought to have had the insinuations then floating in the world in his mind when he wrote the following lines:

" Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,
" An honest factor stole a gem away ;
" He pledg'd it to the Knight ; the Knight had wit ;
" So kept the di'mond and the rogue was bit."

These reports caused Governor Pitt to write the following account of the whole transaction, in vindication of himself; which is the account alluded to by Mr. Eyre, in the preceding extract from his Sermon.

" SINCE my coming into this melancholy place, Bergen, I have been often thinking of the most unparalleled villainy of William Fraser, Thomas Frederick and Smapa, a black merchant, who brought a paper before Governor Addison in council, insinuating, that I had unfairly got possession of a large diamond, which tended so much to the prejudice of my reputation and the ruin of my estate, that I thought necessary to keep by me the true relation how I purchased it in all respects, that so, in case of sudden mortality, my children and friends may be apprized of the whole matter, and so be enabled thereby to put to silence and confound those, and all other villains in their base attempts against either. I having not my books by me at present, I cannot be positive as to the time, but for the manner of purchasing it I do here declare and assert, under my hand, in the presence

presence of God Almighty, as I hope for salvation through the merits and intercession of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that this is the truth, and if it be not, let God deny it to me and my children for ever; which I would be so far from saying, much less leave it under my hand, that I would not be guilty of the least untruth in the relation of it for the riches and honour of the whole world.

" About two or three years after my arrival at Madras, which was in July 1698, I heard there were large diamonds in the country to be sold, which I encouraged to be brought down, promising to be their chapman, if they would be reasonable therein; upon which Jamchund, one of the most eminent diamond merchants in those parts, came down about December 1701, and brought with him a large rough stone, about 305 mangelins, and some small ones, which myself and others bought; but he asking a very extravagant price for the great one, I did not think of meddling with it, when he left it with me for some days, and then came and took it away again, and did so several times, not insisting upon less than 200,000 pagodas; and as I best remember, I did not bid him above 30,000, and had little thoughts of buying it for that; I considered there were many and great risques to be run, not only in cutting it, but also whether it would prove foul or clean, or the water good; besides, I thought it too great an amount to be adventured home on one bottom: but Jam-

chund resolved to return speedily to his own country, so that as I best remember it was in February following he came again to me (with Vincaty Chittee, who was always with him when I discoursed with him about it) and pressed me to know whether I resolved to buy it, when he came down to 100,000 pagodas, and something under, before we parted, when we agreed upon a day to meet, and make a final end thereof one way or other, which I believe was the latter end of the aforesaid month, or the beginning of March; when we accordingly met in the Consultation-room, where, after a great deal of talk, I brought him down to 55,000 pagodas, and advanced to 45,000, resolving to give no more, and he likewise resolving not to abate, so delivered him up the stone, and we took a friendly leave of one another; Mr. Benyon was then writing in my closet, with whom I discoursed upon what had passed, and told him, now I was clear of it; when about an hour after my servant brought me word that Jamchund and Vincaty Chittee were at the door, who being called in, they used a great many expressions in praise of the stone, and told me he had rather I should buy it than any body, and to give an instance thereof offered it for 50,000; so believing it must be a pennyworth, if it proved good, I offered to part the 5000 pagodas that was then between us, which he would not hearken to, and was going out of the room again, when he turned back and told me that I should have it for 49,000; but

but I still adhered to what I had before offered him, when presently he came to 48,000, and made a solemn vow he would not part with it a pagoda under, when I went again into the closet to Mr. Benyon, and told him what had passed, saying, that if it was worth 47,500 it was worth 48,000; [20,400l. sterling at 8s. 6d. per pagoda; the current price at that time] so I closed with him for that sum, when he delivered me the stone, for which I paid him very honourably, as by my books appears. And I here farther call God to witness, that I never used the least threatening word at any of our meetings to induce him to sell it me; and God himself knows it was never so much as in my thoughts so to do: since which I have had frequent and considerable dealings with this man, and trusted him with several sums of money, and balanced several accounts with him, and left upwards of 2000 pagodas in his hands at my coming away: so had I used the least indirect means to have got it from him, would not he have made himself satisfaction when he has had my money so often in his hands? Or would I have trusted him afterwards, as I did, preferable to all other diamond merchants? As this is the truth, so I hope for God's blessing upon this and all my other affairs in this world, and eternal happiness hereafter. Written and signed by me, in Bergen, July 29, 1720.

THO: PITTE.

A Life of the General Changes of the Ministry, from the Year 1742 to the End of the Reign of George II. distinguishing each Administration.

Lives and Places

Sir R. Walpole's Ministry, Lord Bath's Ministry, ap- The Broad Bottom Mr. Pelham's Minis- Duke of Newcastle's Mr. Pitt's first Ministry, Mr. Pitt's second
as it flood when he re- pointed in Feb. 1742. Ministry, Nov. 1744. Ministry, March 1754. Ministry, Decem. 1756.
try, Feb. 1756. try, March 1756.

* Until the Year 1746 there was always a Secretary or State appointed an uneventful tenor for those young gentlemen and noblemen, who are now
for Scotland, probably in compliment to the Union, like Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, and other sinecure offices, which are still preferred. But the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, it is generally believed, was discontinued upon suspicion that some person in the office held a correspondence with the Scottish rebels in the year 1745.

In order to effect a discovery of this correspondence, the northern mails were robbed two or three times. Some very suspicious letters were found, written in cipher; but the friends of Government had not the cipher, nor could they obtain it from any person in the office. It is singular, that as soon as Lord Bute came into power, upon the accession of George III. Mr. Henry Potts, who had been Secretary of the Post-Office many years without reproach, was immediately turned out.—The mails are seldom robbed by thieves, at the eve of a war. This felony is commonly committed by some confidant in the employ of Government, with a view to obtain a knowledge of some correspondence, for which the dispatch of office does not always afford a sufficient opportunity: although the opening of particular letters is a notorious practice.

Upon an alteration in the system of Government in the year 1768, the idea of a third Secretary of State was revived; and the office was appointed for America, with Lord Hillsborough at the head of the department. In 1772, Lord Dartmouth was appointed to this post, who in 1775 was succeeded by Lord George Germaine: he was also F.R. Lord of Trade. But upon the loss of America the office was suppressed. Lord Chatham had, for several years before his death, considered the Board of Trade as little better than a sinecure office. It was one of his essential points to place the affairs of the Colonies in the department of the principal Secretary of State. Mr. Burke seems to have borrowed Lord Chatham's idea in his Bill of Reform, which suppressed the Board of Trade in the year 1782. But more mature deliberation seems to have shewn, that the Board of Trade was not

to possess the great offices of State, and whose rank excluding them from an academical tuition in the principles of trade, deprives them of the means of obtaining a rudimental knowledge of the great science of commerce.

The Duke's Ministry, as it was called, because it had been formed under the auspices of the Duke of Cumberland, as appointed in the month of November 1755; but consisted only of the following alterations from the Duke of Newcastle's Ministry, which had been appointed the year before:

Mr. Fox was made Secretary of State in the room of Sir Thomas Robinson. Lord Gower was made Lord Privy Seal in the room of the Duke of Marlborough.

Sir George Lyttelton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Mr. Legge. Lord Thomond and H. Furness, Lords of the Treasury, vice the Lords Dartington and Kinmoult, who were made joint Paymasters in the room of Mr. Pitt.

Lord Bateman was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty in the room of Lord Barrington, who was made Secretary at War in the room of Mr. Fox. And Lord Edgcumbe was also made a Lord of the Admiralty in the room of Welbore Ellis.

Lord Melcombe was made Treasurer of the Navy in the room of George Greenville.

W. G. Hamilton, J. Talbot, Soame Jenyns, and R. Rigby, Lords of Greenville, vice Lord Edgcumbe, Hon. R. Herbert, John Pitt, and James

Grenville.

But this substitution of a few persons could scarcely be called another Ministry; for during the short time they were in office, there were continual negotiations going on, with a view to form another Ministry.

A List of the General Charges of the Ministry, from the Acceptation of George the Third to the Commencement of Lord North's Ministry in the Year 1770, including the Nine first Years of George III.

Critical Opinions on this Work.

From the Monthly Review, for the Month of May, 1792.

"THE out-lines of the political Life of the Earl of Chatham are within the memory of all such of our Readers, as have public spirit enough to interest themselves in the measures of Government; and these will doubtless review, with pleasure, the principal events of their own times, including the great share which that great Man took in them; especially when they see them collected into one point of view. The author has made a valuable collection of Anecdotes, especially of the latter and most conspicuous part of Lord Chatham's Life; and of other matters connected with it. He says he is not conscious of having advanced one falsehood: we give credit to his declaration, having found no cause to doubt it."

From the Critical Review.

The writers of the Critical Review say, "We can pronounce it to be the work of a man, who might, at least, say, that he has recorded *quæ miserrima vidi*.---The author is a Whig.". In making several extracts, which are extended to two numbers of the Review, (April and Appendix 1792) several commendatory observations are introduced. Speaking of the year 1754 they say, 'It is represented truly as an æra of selfish intrigue.' Of the intrigues at Leicester House, they say, 'From hence we trace the first idea of an interior cabinet, composed of men not official, and consequently not responsible. This very uncon-

unconstitutional and impolitic plan has not escaped the animadversion of modern reformers; who, unable to distinguish between this interior cabinet and the executive power, have grounded on it the most destructive doctrines. "And we cannot help reflecting, that the principles and the conduct of Lord Bute had almost brought this country to the verge of destruction." Of the peace of 1763, the Reviewers agree in the author's remarks. "Impartial posterity, say they, will at once see, that the eagerness of the [British] Court to make peace, occasioned them to obtain worse terms than the French before offered [to Mr. Pitt.] "In the Appendix the author has collected the necessary public documents to illustrate his history, with some private and curious papers." And for having extended their extracts to so great a length, they apologize with saying, "that the singular curiosity and importance of the subject must be their excuse."

The Monthly Register for the Month of August, 1792, gives the following Character of this Work.

"These Anecdotes are neither of a personal nor private nature. They are principally of Public affairs, of State arrangements, of the conduct of Parliament, and of a great variety of public measures, and political negotiations. The author has most unquestionably laid open the conduct and views of our exalted politicians, during the period of which he writes, with more freedom and a far as we can judge, with more justice, than any writer since the days of Bishop Burnet; and, when we give him this credit we must add, that the abundance of information contained in this work is not less extraordinary than interesting. Upon the whole, there can be no doubt, that the work is highly useful to every member of the Legislature

gislature in England and Ireland; and to every gentleman who is desirous of becoming acquainted, either with the talents and conduct of the Noble Earl, or with the state of Public affairs, during a very long and important period. With respect to Lord Chatham's speeches in Parliament, the author informs us, that all those marked M. S. in the margin, of which we observe a considerable number, are now first printed from the manuscripts."

From Woodfall's Diary.

"The Work lately published, entitled "Anecdotes of the life of the late Earl of Chatham," &c. &c. bears the strongest marks of authenticity, and is said to come from the pen of one of the best informed men of the period on which he writes." August 15.

From the Gazetteer.

In the Gazetteer of the same Month, this work is characterised in the following terms: "No work has been published more deserving of a serious attention, either for the abundance of information it contains, or for the patriotic sentiments it breathes throughout, as well to the character of the noble Earl and his friends, as to the interests and honour of our country"

From the Analytical Review.

The writers of the Analytical Review, after extending their extracts to two numbers, conclude thus, in the month of October 1792 "Of the present publication justice demands us to say, that it contains a greater fund of *novel* information than any political work which has lately fallen under our inspection, and bears, at the same time, very strong marks of authenticity. The appendix

contains a number of State papers, many of which are, we believe, not easily to be procured elsewhere ; and on the whole we have no doubt of this proving a very acceptable publication, to all who are desirous of acquiring accurate information concerning some of the most important events of their own times."

From the English Review, for the Month of December, 1792.

"The Narrative appears to be every where supported, either by the evidence of well-known facts, or of private incidents, which have obtained the credit of the public. The writer appears to have been extremely industrious in collecting materials, both in the work and in the Appendix, which may prove highly useful."

From the Annual Register.

"The writers of the Annual Register for the year 1792, in their account of books published in that year, say,—

"Among the biographical productions of the year, the first article which calls for our attention is, Anecdotes of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and of the principal events of his time ; with his Speeches in Parliament, from the year 1763 to the year 1778. In the preface to this work the author observes, that 'he presumes no more than having collected a fund of materials, which may afford light and information to the future enquirer, who could not have found them in any of the books hitherto printed.' He adds, that 'the anecdotes have not been published ; and that 'his situation gave him a knowledge of them, and a personal acquaintance with several of the events.'—Judging from internal evidence, those who are well versed in the history of the times,

times, will conclude that the author possessed sufficient opportunity for acquiring information, and will acknowledge themselves indebted to him for the various entertainment which he has afforded them. Of the intrigues, versatility, and want of principles in courtiers, they present abundant specimens; and supply us with much novel information relative to treaties, secret and avowed, which took place between the British and Foreign Courts. The sentiments of the author are such as are commonly denominated whiggish; and he is not sparing of his censures on the motives and principles of the leading characters, who opposed the politics of his hero. In an Appendix the author has collected a number of State papers, and curious documents, many of which are not easily to be procured elsewhere."

From the Gentleman's Magazine, for the Month of August, 1793.

"A greater number of curious and interesting Anecdotes concerning public affairs have not appeared since the days of Sir William Temple, than are to be found in this work. But, besides these, it must be observed, that a great number of Lord Chatham's speeches in Parliament, as the editor informs us in the Preface, are herein printed from manuscript notes: and that many of them, particularly the latter on the American war, &c. are given in a style of peculiar accuracy. These speeches are models of eloquence equal to those of either Tully or Demosthenes. By a long series of these, as well as by his great talents in council, his fame was universal while living; and, by this genuine preservation of them, his reputation will descend to the latest posterity. Never was a character more justly the idol of the British nation, nor so proper for critical examination, study and imitation. It will not be saying

too much, if we farther observe, that this work is of importance to the present age, and will be greatly so to posterity; because the Anecdotes which it contains are not to be found in any other publication; consequently they will afford great light to the future historian. The splendid and exalted character of the Noble Earl; the vast space which he filled in the eye of an admiring world, render every relick of him worthy of public notice. We cannot dismiss this article without acknowledging, that it throws a great and new light upon the occurrences and events of more than half a century of our history."



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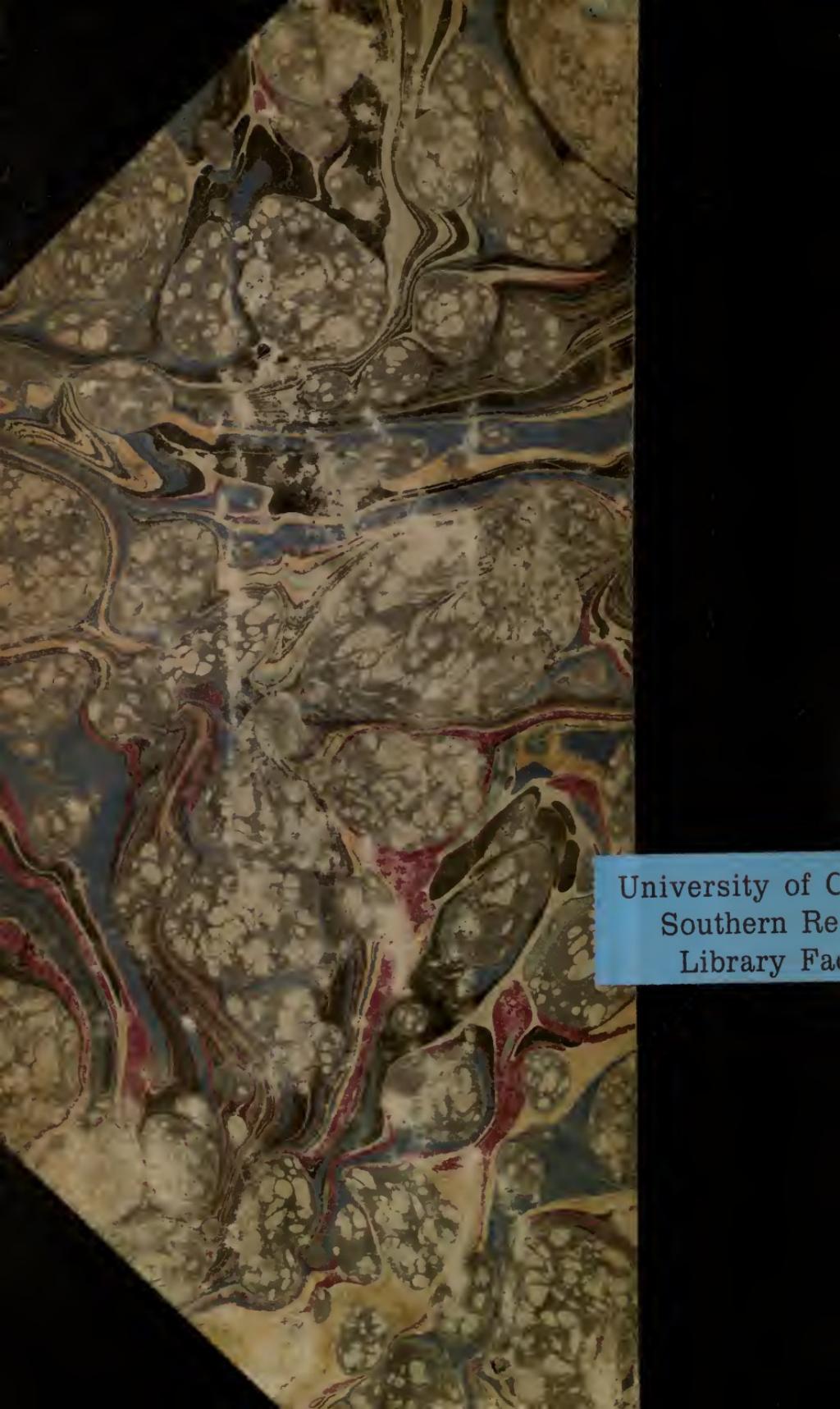
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